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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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The Classics and the Medical Schools . . . *L. R. Lind*

The above drawing represents the interior of an Athenian kylix of the later days of the Pisistratids, when the training of the hoplite was approaching its fullest development. The warrior crouches at ease but ready for action, sword in hand.

A MAGAZINE INTERPRETING TO THE THOUGHTFUL TEACHER AND THE PUBLIC THE  
SIGNIFICANCE OF ANCIENT CLASSICAL CIVILIZATION IN ITS RELATION  
TO MODERN LIFE

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## Trends and Events

Edited by Dorrance S. White

### VERBAL VS. VOCATIONAL SKJLLS?

*The Community College—Plans and Practices*

One of the most far-seeing pronouncements of the President's Commission on Higher Education<sup>1</sup> was used by the Community College Committee of the National Conference on Higher Education<sup>2</sup> to open its report to the general meeting:

"The time has come to make education through the fourteenth grade available in the same way that high school education is now available."

To this the committee adds the statement of Earl J. McGrath, now United States Commissioner of Education:

"The junior college is the most rapidly developing educational institution in the United States."

The committee adds also the statement of Alonzo Myers, President of the Department of Higher Education of the National Education Association:

"The important thing that can be done to equalize educational opportunity beyond the twelfth grade is to develop a system of locally controlled, locally and state supported, tuition free junior colleges that can be attended by youth while living at home."

After establishing incontrovertibly the need for the junior college, or as the President's Report likes to call it, the "Community College," and after exploring with great care the manner of its possible establishment, the committee recommends some of the practices which should be followed if the community college is best to fulfill the purposes for which it was established. To quote:<sup>3</sup>

1. The community college must develop a close relationship with the high school or high schools of the area it serves . . .
2. The community college must build its program on the basis of the needs and resources (educational and occupational, human and material) of the community . . .
3. The community college must provide an education for students of varying aptitudes and abilities—not only verbal and academic but also social, artistic, mechanical, and motor. Traditionally post-high school edu-

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 159

Medical students should have Latin and Greek—  
say the Deans

What to do about it?

## The Classics And the Medical Schools

L. R. Lind

AT THE OUTSET this investigation encountered a slight obstacle. On February 5, 1948, the colleges within the Association of American Medical Colleges "were instructed by the Executive Council of the Association not to answer questionnaires unless with the approval of the Council." This fact was learned from the Secretary of the Association on March 24, a week after a brief questionnaire had been sent out to the 78 medical schools of the United States. In spite of this official and doubtless fully justified discouragement of the time-honored method of eliciting information, 32 replies were received,

a not inconsiderable return from so unpromising an investment. Of these replies, one was the Secretary's explanation of the AAMC stand on questionnaires, arising from the reference to him by a member of the Association of a copy of the questionnaire; one reported that the college addressed had suspended its courses. Of the remaining thirty replies an overwhelming majority of 28 expressed approval, ranging from moderate to enthusiastic, of the purposes of the questionnaire. Two replies decidedly, even bitterly, disapproved of its purposes.

The questionnaire was designed as an exploratory device, a sort of windsock to orient the committee of the ACL and of the other American classical associations which might be formed as a result of this investigation. To reduce the margin of annoyance any questionnaire is certain to arouse, this one was worded in such a way that a simple "yes" or "no" could be given as an answer to the two questions included. The urgency of the problems involved plus the deep interest of the correspondents in these problems must account, therefore, for the numerous long replies, some extending to two pages, which were received. It is true that a certain challenge was deliberately smuggled into the first question in order to capitalize on the human instinct to strike back at questionnaires.

The specific questions are as follows:

"As a representative of the American Classical League I am seeking the following information from the deans of American medical schools and earnestly hope to enlist your co-operation in obtaining the facts:

1) Has the medical faculty of your institution realized that the language requirement of

• This is a report of the American Classical League's representative for Investigation of Possibility of Liaison with Medical Schools, appointed by President Walter R. Agard on February 24, 1948.

• The author is indebted to Professor Lillian B. Lawler for her reference to material appropriate to the investigation printed in *The Scalpel of Alpha Epsilon Delta*, official publication of the national honorary pre-medical fraternity, 17 (1947) 82-83; 90; 123. Further discussions of the humanities in medical education may also be found in the *Journal of the Association of American Medical Colleges* and the *Journal of the American Medical Association*. See also D. Bailey Calvin, "The Humanities in Pre-Medical Education," in *BIOS* 16 (1945, October).

• "It seems to me that there is a vein of exploration here which we classicists ought to follow up; I am amazed at the number of allies we have in the medical ranks of whom we seem to know nothing," writes Professor Lind. "Actually, the question of getting Latin and Greek into pre-medical training is a burning one among the pre-medical teachers and doctors; there are any number of forthright statements in favor of the Classics among those who take part in symposia on pre-medical education etc., as my cursory investigation of the literature (chiefly journals) reveals. I should like to get the reaction of readers of CJ before getting to work in real earnest on the problem."

*the Association of American Medical Colleges—eight hours of modern languages—for the premedical course ignores both Latin and Greek, which have great value in giving the medical student a firm foundation for medical terminology?*

2) *Are there at present in your curriculum a course or courses in Medical or Scientific Greek or Latin which are recommended to premedical students in your institution?*

The American Classical League is deeply concerned in persuading the medical colleges to revise the language requirement to include at least eight hours of college Greek or Latin and in establishing or fostering courses in pre-medical Greek or Latin, i.e., courses which emphasize terminology without involving grammar or syntax as such. I should be glad to hear from you at your earliest convenience and to answer any inquiries you may wish to make."

From the Secretary's reply certain important facts were gained; I quote the most illuminating paragraph of his letter:

Under paragraph 1 you refer to language requirements of the Association of American Medical Colleges. This requirement was dropped many years ago. True, individual colleges still hold to it but the Association of itself does not. As a matter of fact, all the medical schools do not approve of such a requirement. Latin and Greek were dropped more than 25 years ago. Personally, I regret this very much because I do feel that a good, sound education in Greek, and all that that term implies, is a wonderful foundation for the study of Medicine. We have had a number of papers on that subject in our *Journal*.

The 30 remaining replies fully bore out Mr. Zapffe's statements and can be summarized in two categories: (1) most helpful, sympathetic, and aggressively in favor of Greek and Latin as part of premedical education—the majority; (2) moderately approving the objectives of the questionnaire but keenly conscious of the practical difficulties presented by a crowded premedical curriculum against placing the classical languages on an equal basis of choice with the modern languages.

Curiously enough, it was by the deans of the two most prestigious institutions in the country that the second attitude was perhaps

best expressed:

(A) While any teacher of science will recognize the desirability of having Latin or Greek as a part of his intellectual armament, it is quite clear that the requirements in science essential for an adequate background on which to build a medical education is so time-consuming that it leaves little time for adequate instruction of secondary importance. I doubt, therefore, that this School will ever consider seriously requiring medical scientific Latin or Greek, or of offering such courses to our students.

(B) Prior to the turn of the century, applicants to the \_\_\_\_\_ Medical School were required to take an examination in Latin and Greek. I am uncertain of the exact date, but some time around 1900 this requirement was discontinued in favor of a requirement of a modern language. This was probably due to the fact that most of the important medical investigations were being done in France and Germany and being published in French and German.

Up until the last war, knowledge of either or both of these languages was of great importance to a physician. Of course at the present time, with Europe in such a chaotic state, there is not much being written in these languages that is of value. But the writing of the great clinicians and scientists of the nineteenth century remain the basis of modern medicine; therefore, modern languages are more useful to our students than are the classical ones.

I should think that the majority of our students would have studied a small amount of Latin in secondary school but a very few have pursued their studies in the colleges and a very small minority have an acquaintance with Greek. Although I personally have not studied either of these languages, I am in full agreement with you that knowledge of them would help a great deal in understanding medical terminology and thereby increase the accuracy of our thought and expression. When all factors are weighed, however, I doubt that our faculty would be willing to substitute the classical languages for the modern ones. We do not teach any language courses whatsoever in the medical curriculum.

If I can be of any further help to you please do not hesitate to write again.

The dean of the University of Kansas Medical School was more encouraging:

(C) I have read your letter with considerable interest for I believe that the trend away from

classical education and disciplines in the higher education of today has not been good. Particularly do I feel that the tendency on the part of our professional schools to turn out a sort of uncultured technician is extremely unfortunate. Before many months have passed, I hope to be able to critically analyze our premedical requirements and certainly will consider your suggestions for the incorporation of Latin and Greek. There are, however, circumstances which mitigate any immediate change in requirements. Be assured, nevertheless, that I look with considerable sympathy upon your suggestion.

It must be remembered, of course, that the medical deans are speaking chiefly for themselves in their replies and could not in every case speak for their faculties without lengthy deliberations. In these faculties much disagreement on the questions posed assuredly exists; but if the results of this polling of the deans can serve as an indication, there is probably a good deal of sympathy among the medical faculties themselves toward the objectives of this investigation.

Before proceeding to excerpt further replies I shall tabulate some conclusions as shown by the letters received:

#### I. LANGUAGE REQUIREMENTS:

A. Institutions which include Greek and Latin among choices of a language: Texas, Michigan State Board of Registration in Medicine (governing premedical education in Michigan), Ohio State, Loyola University.

B. Institutions strongly urging but not requiring Latin: University of California, West Virginia, University of Mississippi (Latin in high school advised).

#### II. INSTITUTIONS OFFERING COURSES IN MEDICAL OR SCIENTIFIC LATIN OR GREEK

A. Wisconsin ("Classics 38, a composite course in medical Latin and Greek given by Professor Agard in substitution for the previously required year of Latin for all premedical students"), Bucknell, Ohio State, University of North Dakota, University of Nebraska, University of Missouri, Loyola University (students urged to take it), University of Kansas (enrollments well over fifty in "Greek in English," a course popular with students and highly recommended by the premedical advisers).

B. Such a course being planned: Wayne University.

C. Strongly recommended: University of Georgia, University of Michigan, Loyola University.

D. No such course offered or planned: West Virginia University, University of Mississippi, University of North Carolina, University of Illinois, Southwestern Medical College, Johns Hopkins, Washington University, Western Reserve.

E. No information given as to such courses: Union University, University of South Dakota, Duke University, Harvard, Yale, New York Medical College, University of Texas.

It is essential to note that not all of the deans took the trouble to discover whether such courses were actually listed in the catalogues of the Liberal Arts colleges connected with their institutions and that a certain amount of insularity exists in medical schools in regard to other schools or colleges within the same institution. It thus behooves any committee of any Classical association which may be set up to investigate further to make its own detailed search through college and university catalogues for information about such courses, at least for the medical schools; a check list of all the courses of this kind offered in all the schools, colleges, and universities of the country would also have its value.

Further facts concerning courses in scientific Greek or Latin are revealed by this investigation:

a) Some deans do not know anything about such courses and hence cannot urge that premedical students take them. The burden rests here with Departments of Classics to publicize their offerings to the medical school with which they may be connected within the university: neglect to do so is inexcusable.

b) One dean properly pointed out that Departments of Classics have shown little interest in establishing such courses:

(D) If I could speak frankly, it seems to me that departments of Latin and Greek in universities and colleges have not been too much interested in developing courses that would be useful for pre-professional students in medicine and dentistry. Having taken many courses in both Latin and Greek in college, I am well aware of the value of these courses to medical students in the understanding of scientific terminology. If, how-

ever, a student is forced to take all of the usual courses required in the classics departments and, in addition, take a modern foreign language, it imposes quite an additional burden to an already overcrowded curriculum.

c) Although most deans favor such courses, at least four are skeptical of their value:

(E) We have a course in the College of Arts and Sciences which I refer to—off the record—as a ‘bastard’ course, listed in the catalogue as Classical Languages 510 and entitled “Classical Backgrounds of Scientific Terminology”—3 credit hours (quotation of course description follows). This course is being recommended to premedical students by Arts College advisors.

I have been skeptical concerning the value of such a course ever since its inception. Whenever it appears on the record card of a candidate being interviewed for entrance into the medical school I ask him for his evaluation of the course in terms of its objective. Without exception the student says that it is a good course because it prepares one to recognize roots and hence tends to clarify the meaning of medical terms. The emphasis apparently is on Greek and I then proceed with a very short—and perhaps unfair—question which consists in asking the candidate the meaning of “orthopedic.” In 23 consecutive instances within the last year only one student has known the derivation of both roots; most of them know “ortho-” but stumble on “pedic.” I then proceed to such words as “pediatric” and “podiatry” and to utter confusion. My contention is that one derives little or no benefit from studying the meaning of “roots” in a foreign language unless he has, at least, an introductory knowledge of the language itself.

I should like to see courses made available to undergraduates who expect to enter Medicine and the allied areas which would give them an elementary grasp of Greek and Latin. Inasmuch as most of them enter college with from two to four years of high school Latin, [this is much too generous an estimate for the nation as a whole—author's note] the need is for such a course in Greek—a course which would give the student about the same information with reference to that language as he would have gained about Latin with one year of that language in high school. With high-school Latin and such an introductory course in Greek the student would then be able to approach intelligently and with profit the study of “roots” in such a course as our Classical Languages 510. I would not be in favor of pressing either the Coun-

cil on Medical Education [of the American Medical Association] nor the Association of American Medical Colleges to require Latin or Greek, but I would most certainly cooperate in persuading these bodies to recognize the value of such training and to foster the establishment of such courses.

It remains to make a few more quotations which show the very great concern of the deans of medical schools in the problems discussed in this report:

(F) I have no reservation in decrying the movement of science and the preparation for science away from the classical background. In my judgment the day of the educated physician is passing as we move more and more toward vocational forms of training. However, with the increasing stress of the basic sciences, biology, zoology, chemistry, and physics there is left little time for the humanities. I wish it were otherwise.

(G) In so far as possible we endeavor not to set a pre-medical prescribed course requirement to a semester hour level which would make it difficult for college and university advisors to fit other courses in the humanities into the program in a satisfactory manner for each individual student. In evaluating transcripts, however, we do give the same weighting to the humanities as is given to the sciences. We feel very keenly that this is of great importance since only well rounded individuals should be given the privilege of studying medicine. . . . Personally, I have always felt that the mistake is being made in not requiring Latin at the high school level. Certainly, even a good course in high school Latin would add materially to the general ability to handle the English language in a satisfactory manner.

(H) A few days ago, the Executive Council of the Association of American Medical Colleges advised all deans to omit answering all questionnaires not sponsored by the Association. This apparent lack of graciousness on their part and interest in affairs generally deserves some basis, as I am sure you would agree. However, it is not my purpose in writing you this letter to enter into a discussion of that problem. On the contrary, I am very glad to answer your form letter because I am sincerely interested in Latin and Greek as a part of the preparation for the study of medicine. For a number of years I have hounded colleges of arts and sciences, begging doctors and premedical advisors to do something toward making up for the basic deficiencies in the English language, which many times are so strikingly

prominent, not only among our applicants, but among those accepted by us as well. Needless to say to anyone, the old days when medical texts were written in Latin and Greek are gone forever, but the basic structure of the language which we now teach is woefully misunderstood or is lacking entirely in the preparation of most applicants to medical colleges. Thus it occurs that the most difficult struggles in the first few months center around medical terms and terminology. The outlook, however, is not altogether as bleak as I might have indicated. Several eastern schools, Bucknell particularly, have evolved courses which attempt to give the premedical student something of an introduction to the understanding of Latin and Greek structure and meaning. Here at \_\_\_\_\_ University I am about to persuade the Liberal Arts College to offer a similar course. Together we may be able to sell it to premedical students.

While there are men such as these correspondents who are willing and resolute in taking a stand on the issues involved, the classicist need not fear that he is alone and crying in the wilderness of modern specialization. The specialists themselves are discovering the dangerous effects of ruthless specialization. There are, instead, too many classicists who will not take the hands outstretched to them from across the campus but retire into the ivory tower of their own specialty. It is hard to believe that they deserve anything but the oblivion they complain of as imminent.

I wish to thank most cordially all the heads of medical schools who took the time and trouble to write me, and especially the following gentlemen:

- Fred C. Zapffe, Secretary, AAMC  
 D. Bailey Calvin, Dean, University of Texas  
   —Medical Branch  
 William S. Middleton, Dean, The Medical School, University of Wisconsin  
 Hardy A. Kemp, Dean, College of Medicine,  
   Wayne University  
 G. Lombard Kelly, Dean, University of Georgia School of Medicine  
 George H. Ruggy, Junior Dean, College of Medicine, The Ohio State University  
 W. R. Berryhill, Dean, School of Medicine,  
   University of North Carolina

John B. Youmans, Dean, University of Illinois  
 College of Medicine

Alfred H. Lawton, Dean, School of Medicine,  
 University of North Dakota

Harold C. Lueth, Dean, College of Medicine,  
 University of Nebraska

Franklin D. Murphy, Dean, University of Kansas Medical School

William W. Beckman, Harvard Medical School.

**ADDENDUM:** Under date of November 19, 1948, the following letter was received from Miss M. Elizabeth Huston, Assistant to the Dean, Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.:

"You will be interested to know that the Admissions Committee of the Woman's Medical College recommended to the Faculty that one year of college Latin or Greek of six semester hours credit would be acceptable as entrance credit for the language requirement, as well as French, German and Spanish. The Faculty voted to accept this recommendation."

L. R. L.

#### LATIN WEEK BULLETINS

LATIN WEEK BULLETIN for 1950 is now in process of preparation, and will be available for distribution at the usual time late in the winter. Unfortunately, distribution of the BULLETIN cannot be financed on the same basis as in the past. Heretofore the Classical Association of the Middle West and South has financed the distribution of thousands of BULLETINS and has also reimbursed state chairmen in the Latin Week project annually. This has proved to be a strain beyond the present resources of the Association. Financing of Latin Week as a whole together with the distribution of a great number of BULLETINS goes beyond the income available from normal membership fees. It will be necessary, therefore, to shift the burden from the Association to local agencies; and it is hoped that all who are interested in the maintenance of this important project will cooperate to the best of their ability. Further details as to the 1950 BULLETIN will appear soon in the JOURNAL.

*Caesar's indirect discourse  
Reveals formally contrived speeches*

## The Use of Speeches In Caesar's Gallic War

Charles T. Murphy

AT FIRST SIGHT the title of this paper may seem somewhat paradoxical: every schoolboy used to know, as every teacher of Latin still knows, that there are practically no real speeches in Caesar's Gallic War; there are only dreary stretches of long, almost unintelligible indirect discourse. It is the purpose of this essay to direct attention again to these passages, and to treat them as genuine speeches.

THE STARTING-POINT for our investigation is an off-hand remark in Professor Lord's Martin Lectures on Thucydides. This book is invariably entertaining and often most stimulating, but it contains a number of casual *obiter dicta*, some of which need qualification. Here is Professor Lord's estimate of Caesar, in an opening chapter on how to write history:

Among Roman historians Caesar is unique. That clear, incisive brain of his makes him quite as preeminent among historians as among statesmen or generals. It is true that he learned how to write as he went along. No ancient work is so disfigured as are the opening books of his *Gallic Wars* with such large doses of indigestible indirect discourse. This he gradually learned to avoid. By the time he had written the account of four campaigns, a centurion was able to say two sen-

tences directly, and the history of his war in Gaul (in Book VII) is notable for several long speeches delivered in direct and telling language.<sup>1</sup>

In a footnote, Professor Lord adds: "I mean seriously the criticism of Caesar's early writing." Well, I propose to take it seriously for the moment, even at the risk of reducing the significance of this paper to a footnote on a footnote!

There is, I think, one serious flaw in this evaluation of Caesar's style. It is assumed that the use of lengthy indirect discourse is the sign of an undeveloped historical style, and that as Caesar progressed he learned by experience to avoid it and to write direct speeches instead. This supposes, by the way, that Caesar's style was still unformed, when at the age of nearly fifty he started to write his commentaries,<sup>2</sup> although he had spent half a lifetime in the oratorical schooling and contests of Roman public life; but let this pass. It is true that direct discourse does not appear until Book IV; it is used sparingly thereafter, and Book VII does contain two (not several) long speeches completely in direct discourse.<sup>3</sup> But it is not true that Caesar avoids indirect discourse at the same time: a little counting reveals that there are eleven reported speeches in Book I and eight in Book VII—surely not a significant change. No other book contains nearly so many. But the decisive argument can be found by examining the commentaries on the Civil War, which are obviously later than the first seven books of the *Gallic War*. Although space does not permit a complete treatment of the later work, a hasty inspection of the first three books, which are admittedly by Caesar's own hand, reveals the following figures: of 23 speeches or conferences, 18 are reported

(Professor Murphy is chairman of the Department of Classics at Oberlin College and is widely known in college circles as co-author (with Whitney J. Oates) of one of the leading general texts of Greek literature in translation.

Here he points out what should be better known: that Caesar's use of indirect discourse was not the result of mere perversity, but that it fits in with the general aim of Caesar's writings and reflects speeches composed according to the regular canons of ancient rhetoric.

in indirect form and 5 in direct.<sup>4</sup> All of this suggests that it was not inexperience which led Caesar to prefer indirect discourse in his narrative, but deliberate choice. Not to hammer away any longer at Professor Lord for what was merely a passing remark (one which has served admirably as a spring-board for this paper), let us turn to the question: Why did Caesar choose to report the speeches in his narrative in such a cumbersome and involved form? The method is, after all, much more difficult both to write and to read than the directly reported speech.

### "Raw Material" for History

THE ANSWER to this question lies, as it seems to me, in the form of the work which Caesar was writing: not *Historia*, but *Commentarii*; not a literary or rhetorical history, but a collection of raw material for history. The title alone would suggest this, but we also have the explicit testimony of two contemporaries and acquaintances of Caesar. His lieutenant Hirtius writes, in his introduction to Book VIII of the *Gallic War*: "They (the *Commentaries*) have been published that historians may not lack knowledge of those great achievements; yet so strong is the unanimous verdict of approval that it appears that historians have been robbed of an opportunity rather than enriched with one."

There is a similar remark by the master of Latin prose style, Cicero, in a passage of his *Brutus*, a passage which one would do well to consider *in toto* before characterizing Caesar's style as awkward, difficult, or "disfigured" in any way whatsoever. Brutus remarks: "I have read several orations, and also the commentaries which he wrote on his own affairs." Cicero replies: "Yes, they are worthy of great admiration. They are bare, simple, and charming (*nudi, recti, et venusti*), stripped as it were of all the clothing of rhetorical ornamentation (*omni ornatus orationis tamquam veste detracta*). But while he wished others to have a source for their material in writing history, only fools, perhaps, would accept the favor and try to embellish those records with curling-irons.

Wise men have rather been deterred from writing; for there is nothing in a history more pleasant than a pure and elegant brevity" (*Brutus* 75, 262).

The purpose, then, of these *Commentaries* is to provide future historians with the "raw material of history," even though we are told that it would be rash to try to improve on Caesar's own telling of the story.

### Speeches in History

SO FAR, MOST OF THESE facts are, or used to be, common knowledge; they are noted in most handbooks of Latin literature, and in many editions of Caesar. But a further thought occurred to me, namely, that all ancient literary histories, from Herodotus and Thucydides down, consist of two important elements: (1) the narration of events, and (2) speeches by the participants in the events—speeches designed to provide the reader with a fuller understanding of the actions, with the author's own interpretations of events, even with his "philosophy" of history. Therefore, if Caesar was really trying to provide future historians with the raw material for their literary histories, he was bound to offer material not only for the events themselves, but for the speeches too; no classical history would be complete without them, and yet Caesar was debarred by the choice of his form from composing rhetorical or literary speeches in direct discourse. Here we may recall what Thucydides says about the veracity of the speeches in his own history: "Some I heard myself; others I got from various quarters; it was in all cases difficult to carry them word for word in my memory, so my habit has been to make the speakers say what was, in my opinion, demanded of them by the occasion, while adhering as closely as possible to the general sense of what was actually said" (1. 22). Similarly, it seemed that Caesar might be expected to give the future historian hints as to what the occasion demanded and the general sense of what was actually said. I then began to re-read the longer sections in indirect discourse, to see if they performed the usual function of such

speeches in classical histories, and if, despite their brevity, they were cast in a recognizably rhetorical form.

Here we may first mention briefly the ways in which speeches are used in other historians. We find first of all deliberations or debates at various types of public meetings, which serve to give the reader an insight into the motives or beliefs of the actors in the historical drama. Thucydides is particularly skillful in using such speeches to show how the generally received ideas of the times affected political action. Next there are exhortations of generals to their soldiers, which reveal what the conflicting forces believed they were fighting for. Further, there are occasional "epideictic," or ceremonial speeches, like the famous Funeral Oration of Pericles in Thucydides. Finally, when it is suggested by the circumstances, the historian may write forensic, or judicial speeches; these sometimes are placed in the setting of a formal trial, as in the speeches of the Thebans and Plataeans before the Spartan judges in the third book of Thucydides. Readers of Livy will recall the trial of Horatius for killing his sister, and his father's spirited defence (1. 26).

All of these types, except possibly the purely epideictic, occur in Caesar's *Gallic War*. In a recent re-reading, I noted down 29 rhetorical passages worthy of study in the first seven books.<sup>5</sup> Of these 29 passages, only two are in direct discourse throughout (7. 38 and 7. 77); several others change from indirect to direct for a sentence or two, usually at the climax or at the end. The great majority of the passages (20 in all) are deliberative, what the Roman rhetoricians call *sua* and *dissua*.<sup>6</sup> Four are military addresses, what Caesar himself calls a *contio*,<sup>7</sup> and four more are forensic in nature.<sup>8</sup> One is rather difficult to classify by the ordinary rules of rhetoric: in 1. 30, the Gallic chiefs congratulate Caesar on his victory over the Helvetians; the speech begins like a ceremonial speech of praise, but it ends in a petition, a request for permission to hold a general convention. Hence, in function, at least, it is another *sua*.

### Speeches in Narrative

A FEW SELECTED examples will suffice to show how these speeches are worked into the narrative. A typical group of deliberative speeches occurs in the parley with Ariovistus (1. 43-5), where Caesar attempts to dissuade Ariovistus from attacking the Gauls and from inviting more Germans across the Rhine.<sup>9</sup> Caesar opens (Ch. 43) with a statement of past benefits which he has conferred on Ariovistus—a good topic for an *exordium*. He then turns to his *propositio*: the Romans are bound to support the Aedui. This position is supported by arguments drawn from the long-standing friendship of the Romans and Aedui; the acknowledged leadership of the Aedui in Gaul; and the Roman tradition of maintaining their friends in power. He closes by repeating his former demands (from 1. 35): Ariovistus must not make war on the Aedui; he must restore their hostages; and he must not allow any more Germans to cross the Rhine. Ariovistus' reply mingles defence of his actions, boastful allusions to his own achievements, and threats against Caesar. It apparently struck Caesar as naïve and boastful, and he introduces it with one of his rare, ironic jokes: "Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit, de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit." None the less, it is a reasonably well-arranged and effective speech. He opens with a series of answers to Caesar's charges, and then turns to an attack on Caesar himself and the Roman aggression in a part of Gaul which Ariovistus considers his own sphere of influence; finally, he expresses a threat that Caesar's death would be welcome to many at Rome, and ends with an extraordinarily naïve offer to pay Caesar liberally for a free hand in Gaul. Caesar's reply, which reaffirmed his position and rejected the German's claims to part of Gaul, was interrupted by the aggression of the German cavalry. This group of speeches serves not only the obvious purpose of justifying Caesar's attack on Ariovistus, but also to characterize the German leader and to reveal the motives, beliefs, and claims of the enemy, which Caesar judged dangerous to

Roman interests in Gaul. It is always difficult for a historian, or his partisan readers, to do justice to the feelings and claims of an enemy; speeches put in the enemy's mouth might perform this function tactfully, without offending Roman sensibilities. Similarly, in 5. 27, Ambiorix, a Gallic chief, in a *sua* urging Caesar's legates to lead their legion out of winter quarters during the revolt of 54 B.C., claims that he cannot oppose the unanimous will of his tribe, nor can the tribe oppose the general will of all the Gauls. Whether this excuse for his treachery is true or not, it reveals admirably the unstable nature of political arrangements in Gaul. Finally, in Book VII, Caesar reports a number of speeches in which the Gauls encouraged each other to revolt; here too he uses these speeches to show the motives and beliefs which led the Gauls to rebel. The Gallic leaders invariably represent the Roman rule as intolerable slavery.

The *contiones* need little comment, since their function and connection in the narrative are easily seen. The best are those of Caesar himself, in 1. 40 (reprimanding the centurions for the fears of Ariovistus which have spread through the soldiers) and 7. 52 (rebuking the army for their unauthorized and unsuccessful attack on Gergovia); these speeches might serve as models for anyone who wished to know how to reprimand an army without destroying its morale. The two similar speeches of Vercingetorix to his officers (7. 14 and 66) perform the function of preparing the reader for the coming strategy and tactics of the Gauls.

Of the four judicial, or forensic speeches, three are delivered by Caesar's Gallic friend, Diviciacus: a plea for his disloyal brother (1. 20); an indictment of the crimes of Ariovistus (1. 31), an attack which is answered, in part, by Ariovistus himself in his speech to Caesar in 1. 44;<sup>10</sup> and a plea for the rebellious Bellocaci (2. 44). But the most noteworthy of all is the speech which Vercingetorix makes in his own defence when he is accused of treachery after a minor reverse at Avaricum (7. 20). Caesar has placed this speech within the setting of a formal trial; the

charges are stated in brief, legalistic fashion: "proditoris insimulatus, quod castra propius Romanos movisset, quod cum omni equitatu discessisset, quod sine imperio tantas copias reliquisset, quod eius discessu Romani tanta opportunitate et celeritate venisset." In a clear and logical speech Vercingetorix first answers the four counts of this indictment in order, and passionately denies any desire of receiving the kingship of Gaul from Caesar; rather than endure such a suspicion, he will resign the leadership which they have conferred upon him. He then produces some false witnesses, captured slaves who had been coached to state that they were Roman soldiers, and to describe the wretched, almost desperate state of the Roman army and camp.<sup>11</sup> He then turns naturally to dwell on his own services in reducing the enemy to such straits. This first-rate speech meets with immediate approval: the assembled Gauls acquit him by raising a great clamor and by clashing their weapons together.

### Rhetorical Forms

These samples should suffice to give an idea of what the speeches are, when they are used, and something of their function in the narrative. Next we may note briefly their rhetorical form. Caesar's concern for decent oratorical niceties is found both in his careful arrangement of the parts of the various speeches, and in his use of rhetorical topics, or "loci communes." In other words, Caesar performed for the later historian two of the orator's five tasks; these are (1) *inventio*, the discovery of *what* to say; (2) *dispositio*, the arrangement and ordering of the parts in an effective way; (3) *elocutio*, or *ornatus*, the embellishment of the speech in appropriate or decorative language; (4) *memoria*, and (5) *actio*, committing the speech to memory and delivering it. Since the last two are of no concern to the writer of history, we may say that Caesar has left only the third, *elocutio* or *ornatus*, to his successors. This fits in well with Cicero's remark, that the *Commentaries* were "stripped, as it were, of all rhetorical ornamentation."

In almost all the speeches it is easy to

mark the usual parts of a typical Roman speech: that is, Exordium, Narratio (if needed) or Propositio, Confirmatio, and Peroratio; in fact, some of the speeches are bare outlines with a clause or two devoted to each of these parts. A few variations from the normal order may be noted. In case a separate section is devoted to refuting the opponent's arguments, Caesar usually puts them first, instead of after the Confirmatio, as the handbooks recommend. In some of the speeches held in councils of war, the Exordium is lacking; perhaps, because the subject for discussion is known to all, and the speakers, being military men, prefer not to waste time over polite introductions. In one rather interesting case Caesar has left out all but the conclusion to a speech; in 4. 8, Caesar is entertaining a request from the German tribes of the Usipetes and Tencteri, who wished him to find them lands to settle in Gaul. Caesar replied, "quae visum est," "as seemed best at the time"; "but the end of his speech was as follows." Caesar then gives the concrete proposals which formed the conclusion of his full speech. Here the future historian is invited to make up his own speech in accordance with what the occasion demanded; or shall we suppose that Caesar had lost some of his notes?

### Loci Communes

THE USE OF RHETORICAL common-places is most noticeable at the beginning and end of speeches. As the contemporary handbooks, like the *Ad Herennium* or Cicero's *De Inventione*,<sup>12</sup> inform us (in wording consecrated by long usage), the function of the Exordium is to make the hearers "benevolos, attentos, et dociles." Of these, the first is by far the most important. The author of *Ad Herennium* mentions a variety of topics to make one's hearers "benevolent," and many of them can be illustrated in Caesar. For example, "We shall secure goodwill if we mention our own services without arrogance" (*Ad Her.* 1. 5. 8). Caesar begins both his addresses to Ariovistus by politely mentioning his previous benefits to him. Again, "(We shall secure goodwill) if we mention

our troubles, our helplessness, isolation, or distress, and beg for aid" (*ibid.*). In Caesar, the Gauls at the beginning of Diviciacus' speech accusing Ariovistus throw themselves on the ground at Caesar's feet, and mention the cruel punishment they must expect unless Caesar comes to their aid. Similarly, the Gauls open their speeches urging revolt in 7. 1 by stressing the wretched fate which will soon befall each of them. Or, to illustrate just one more topic: "Benevolentia will be secured from our hearers if we mention their brave, wise, or merciful actions"—i.e., by a judicious use of flattery. The Gauls in their speech of congratulation to Caesar in 1. 30 begin by dwelling on his services to the land of Gaul. A more direct, and somewhat amusing form of flattery appears in 2. 31: the besieged Aduatuci propose terms to Caesar; they are willing to surrender, but wish to be allowed to keep their arms. Their opening topic is a remark that the Romans must make war with divine aid, judging by the size and mobility of their siege-engines.

### "Tear Jerking"

THE USUAL PARTS of the Peroration, or conclusio, are enumeratio, amplificatio (also called indignatio), and misericordia. Caesar never bothers with a recapitulation, as is to be expected in view of his brevity. Amplification is also lacking, but there are plenty of attempts to arouse pity and indignation at the end of various speeches. The emotional Gauls frequently indulge in weeping to influence Caesar, and on one occasion a speech of Diviciacus (who must have been a practised "tear-jerker") is interrupted, or supported, by a flood of tears and laments by his compatriots (1. 31)—a trick known to the early law-courts of Greece and neatly parodied in Aristophanes' *Wasps* (975-84). Pity will be aroused, say our handbooks, "if we enumerate and show what will happen to us if we do not gain our cause" (*Ad Her.* 2. 31. 50). So, in the speech mentioned above, Diviciacus says that all the Gauls will have to flee their native land unless Caesar aids them. Again, we may arouse pity "by comparison, showing what prosperity we once enjoyed, and in

what adversity we now are living" (*ibid.*). The Gauls in their speech urging revolt (7. 1) compare the glory and liberty they received from their fathers with the slavery which now encompasses them. Finally, we may show "what will befall our parents, children, and other relations as a result of our misfortunes" (*ibid.*). In one of his speeches (7. 14), Vercingetorix tries to persuade the Gauls to adopt the tactics of "the scorched earth," and he ends with these words: "if these measures seemed harsh or cruel, they ought to consider that it was much harsher for their wives and children to be dragged off into slavery and for themselves to be killed—as is the inevitable lot of the vanquished." In connection with this topic, there is an amusing relationship with a passage in Sallust's report of Caesar's speech in the Senate on the fate of the Catilinarian conspirators; this speech is, of course, in Sallust's style, but the arguments are probably Caesar's and we may thus consider it as the only surviving specimen of an actual oration by Caesar. In the course of his speech, Caesar makes some pointed jibes at the rhetorical common-places of his opponents: "Most of those who have spoken before me have expressed pity for the fate of the commonwealth in elaborate and ornate style. They have expanded on the savagery of war, and the fate of the conquered: maidens and boys are raped; children are torn from the arms of their parents; respectable matrons forced to submit to the will of the victors; shrines and homes looted, murder and fire everywhere. . . . But, good heavens! what is the point of such talk?" Caesar knew perfectly well what the point was, and in his outline for the speech of Vercingetorix he gave a hint which the future writer of rhetorical history could be counted upon to elaborate with the usual oratorical flourishes.

One final question: why did Caesar break his usual rule in Book VII and report two speeches in direct discourse? One is a speech by Litavicus, a young Aeduan noble: he was leading a force of ten thousand soldiers to reinforce Caesar at Gergovia, when (by rearrangement with the other leaders

of the Aedui) he halted his troops and incited them to abandon the Romans and go over to the side of the rebelling Gauls (7. 38). The other is a speech by the Averni Critognatus, when the resources of the Gauls in Alesia were almost exhausted. The oration is a fighting speech, urging the Gauls to hold out, if necessary, by eating the weak and infirm (7. 77). It is one of the most elaborate speeches in the *Gallic War*. The interesting point about both these speeches is the fact that Caesar couldn't have heard either one of them; his information about them came from someone else, presumably deserters or prisoners. Caesar therefore means us to understand that he is not giving the exact words of these speakers; he is, in fact, doing what later historians are to do with his material: i.e., he takes the substance of what was said and puts it into good rhetorical form. It may be that there is no more compelling reason for this than a simple desire for variety; but it may also be that Caesar is dropping a hint to future historians as to how to handle the speeches in his *Commentaries*.<sup>12</sup>

A brief consideration of one complete speech might be made to show Caesar's method at its best. Let us look at the opening chapter of Book VII, where we find the Gallic chiefs summoning conventions in the remote parts of the forest. The part of the text relevant to our inquiry runs as follows:

#### I (Exordium)

Queruntur de Acconis morte; posse hunc casum ad ipsos recidere demonstrant; miserantur communem Galliae fortunam.

#### II (Propositio)

Omnibus pollicitationibus ac praemiis deposcunt qui belli initium faciant et sui capitis periculo Galliam in libertatem vindicent.

#### III (Confirmatio)

In primis rationem esse habendam dicunt, prusquam eorum clandestina consilia efferantur, ut Caesar ab exercitu intercludatur.

*Id esse facile, quod*

(1) neque legiones audeant absente imperatore ex hibernis egredi,

(2) neque imperator sine praesidio ad legiones pervenire possit.

## IV (Peroratio)

Postremo in acie praestare interfici quam non veterem belli gloriam libertatemque quam a majoribus acceperint recuperare.

With these few words Caesar has outlined a complete speech in the four usual divisions. The exordium aims to capture *benevolentia* by arousing pity for the sad fate of a com-patriot; at the same time it makes the audience "attentos" by suggesting that the fate of the whole commonwealth of Gaul is involved.<sup>14</sup> The proposition is a call to action, with promises of rewards and (presumably) aid to those who start the revolt; the section ends with an emotional appeal in the words "Galliam in libertatem vindicent." The arguments are based on the premise that the revolt will succeed if they act at once and cut Caesar off from his legions, and two points are adduced to show that this course is easy to accomplish—another *communis locus*: in deliberative speeches, the orator should show that the course he advocates is "just, lawful, expedient, honorable, and easy (or if not easy, at least possible)."<sup>15</sup> The peroration is a summons to die gloriously in battle rather than lose the glory and liberty of their ancestors—again a common-place: praise of the *maiores*, with *exempla* drawn from their achievements. Such is the material which Caesar presents to the future historian; it is easy to imagine how it might be elaborated.<sup>16</sup>

In my opinion, then, Caesar wrote these passages in indirect discourse, these skeleton speeches, with an eye to the needs of the future, rhetorical historian of his achievements. They are carefully outlined with due regard for proper order, or *dispositio*, with some attention to rhetorical topics, or *inventio*. Whether or not the reader will agree with me, I cannot say; but I am less interested in proving a point than in stimulating Latin teachers to reconsider these passages with these rhetorical points in mind. For this may suggest a new value for the study of Caesar in schools: I am convinced that Caesar is a valuable author, not only for his accounts of battles, strategy, and siege-works, but even more because, if properly presented, he

can suggest to young people the means and methods of presenting their ideas in a clear, logical and coherent order, and with convincing arguments. The more college freshmen I see, the more certain I become that the crying need of our contemporary students is more training in the ability to express themselves clearly and effectively—not to mention, correctly. Instruction in this task has always been a vital function of the Classics, and I believe that in this task Caesar's *Commentaries* might make an important contribution.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Louis E. Lord, *Thucydides and the World War*, (Martin Classical Lectures, vol. XII), Harvard University Press, 1945; pp. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> The precise date of the composition of the *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars* does not affect the argument of this paper. It matters little whether they were written *in toto* during the winter of 52-1 B.C., or were issued in installments; on the question, see Norman J. DeWitt, "The Non-Political Nature of Caesar's *Commentaries*," *TAPA* 73 (1942) 341-52.

<sup>3</sup> A sentence or two in direct form is also inserted into a longer speech in indirect discourse (7.20).

<sup>4</sup> The direct speeches are by Curio (three in Book II), Pompey (3.86) and Labienus (3.87). There are in addition several short remarks or outbursts in direct form, which can hardly be considered as orations: e.g., 3.64, the remark of the dying standard-bearer.

<sup>5</sup> I have omitted short passages, and longer passages which report a person's thoughts rather than his words. The test of a passage should be whether it was actually delivered as a speech. Some passages included are on the border-line: e.g., in the case of diplomatic negotiations like the preliminary exchange with Ariovistus in 1.35-36, it is hard to tell whether the passage is a speech to be delivered, or a letter to be read. Since such passages are usually cast in rhetorical form, I have treated them as speeches.

<sup>6</sup> These are: 1.13, 14, 35, 36, 43, 44, 45; 2.31; 4.7, 8; 5.27, 28, 29, 41; 7.1, 29, 37, 38, 54, 77.

<sup>7</sup> 1.40; 7.14, 52, 66.

<sup>8</sup> 1.20, 31-2; 2.14; 7.20.

<sup>9</sup> There are altogether five speeches woven into the narrative of Caesar's negotiations with Ariovistus; since the German chieftain had been recognized as "king and friend" by the Roman senate, Caesar may have elaborated these detailed reports in order to clear himself of acting harshly toward a friendly power.

<sup>10</sup> Caesar here uses a device found in other historians: the contents of a speech which is known to the reader may be assumed as known to another speaker, even if he was not present at the first speech. Thus, in Thucydides 1.140-4, Pericles is represented as knowing and answering a speech of the Corinthians at Sparta, in 1.120-4.

<sup>11</sup> If Vercingetorix really had time to arrange this deception, there may have been a real trial, and Caesar is not presenting it merely as formal, literary device.

<sup>12</sup> I mention these two as works available to Caesar in his earlier years.

<sup>13</sup> We may note that none of the five speeches in direct discourse in the *Civil War* could have been heard by Caesar either. The only case in which Caesar reports his own words directly is in B.C. 3.85; a few sentences of encouragement to his soldiers before Pharsalus.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Cicero, *De Inv.* 1.16.23; we may make our hearers "attentos" if we state that our subject "ad summan rei publicae pertinere."

<sup>15</sup> Pseudo-Aristotle, *Rhetoric to Alexander*, ch. I.

<sup>16</sup> A courteous listener, who heard this paper in oral form, has suggested that some of these speeches might be put into simple, but good rhetorical Latin in direct discourse, for easy second-year reading. Here is a project for someone who likes to do Latin composition.

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## WANTED—TIMELESS ARTICLES

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MRS. EUGENIA WILSON NEWLIN of the Oakwood School, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., has written the following suggestion to the editors:

Many contemporary articles have been published in THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL with profit to the readers. My bulletin board is adorned with a succession of clippings from current periodicals, some of them suggested by you. No one denies that there is a certain charm about today's headline which draws students to the bulletin board.

My plea is not that the JOURNAL keep us informed less about recent publications, but that it widen its scope to include also articles published some time ago which we might have missed but whose value is timeless.

To start the list of old-but-still-obtainable articles, I submit:

1. "The Roman Way" by Edith Hamilton and "Ancient Rome Brought to Life" by Rhys Carpenter, both in *The National Geographic Magazine* for November, 1946—excellent to teach customs of Roman life and illustrated by 32 delightful paintings by H. M. Herget.

2. "The Greek Way" by Edith Hamilton and "Greece—the Birthplace of Science and Free Speech" by Richard Stillwell—both in

*The National Geographic Magazine* for March 1944—similar to those described in "1" above and well illustrated with paintings by the same artist as well as with photographs.

3. "Caesar Goes Recruiting" by I. M. Bolton in *Boys' Life* for March 1942—an imaginary tale that makes vivid for all youngsters the events of the last part of Book I of Caesar's Gallic War.

4. "The Women of the Caesars" by Guglielmo Ferrero, a series of six descriptive historical articles in the *Century Magazine* for May, June, July, August, September, and October, 1911—giving an excellent picture of the early days of the Roman Empire.

5. "Plant Early—Two Feet Apart" by Walter Brooks in *The Atlantic Monthly* for January 1938—a delightful tale based on Jason's sowing the dragon's teeth.

Any teacher can add to this. Won't you invite them to do so?

*The Editors do indeed invite their readers, teachers or otherwise, to let them hear of articles in back files of general magazines which might be accessible in school or public libraries.*

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### Current Events

#### MASSACHUSETTS—BOSTON.

The Classical Club of Greater Boston held its annual fall meeting and dinner at the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, 264 Boylston Street, Boston, on Thursday, October 13, at six o'clock. The speaker after the dinner was M. Georges Daux of the University of Paris, and this year Exchange Professor at Harvard University. His subject was "Impressions of Greece" (illustrated). The thirty years' familiarity with Greece, and especially Delphi, on the part of the speaker made his informal talk inspiring and stimulating. Professor Herbert Yeames, President of the Club, presided and introduced the speaker.

Professor Charlotte Goodfellow of Wellesley College will conduct the Reading Groups for the year 1949-1950 in the *Rudens* of Plautus and the *Andria* of Terence. Professor Yeames is to lead the readings in the *Plutus* of Aristophanes and the *Timon* of Lucian.

Can poetry and science be mixed?  
If so, what kind of poetry is the result?

## Lucretius' Poetic Problem

Raymond V. Schoder, S.J.

### PART I

**A**NY POET OF SIGNIFICANCE will be quareled over by the critics so long as he is read. But Lucretius, by his choice of theme, has added new material for contention beyond the standard poetic supply. For didactic poetry raises the ultimate issue—is it poetry at all?

CONINGTON feels that all such work is " . . . an attempt to combine incompatibilities," and as such must inevitably fail, as it does in Lucretius.<sup>1</sup> Patin, after wrestling with the problem at length, concludes that a didactic piece may be poetic if the subject is not widely or fully known, is open to new advances of clarification by the poet, and of a nature to arouse and hold curiosity.<sup>2</sup> Yet Aristotle rates Empedocles as a metrical physicist rather than a poet,<sup>3</sup> and it is significant that after the full development of Greek prose, no Hellenic writer felt justified in combining systematic exposition with poetic form in the manner of Hesiod, Empedocles, and Xenophanes until Aratus and Nicander, writing in a period of imitative and decadent

ideals.<sup>4</sup> Hence Nairn feels that "Lucretius has scarcely done justice to his powers. He has subordinated poetry to science."<sup>5</sup>

Still, in the face of Vergil's achievement in the *Georgics*, our strictures of the genre must not be too sweeping. Thus Connell,<sup>6</sup> arriving from a different angle at Patin's conclusion, considers a great didactic poem possible, if it is not unrelentingly argumentative but informed with distinctly emotional and imaginative qualities; while Père Verest has praise for a work which is ". . . the poetical expression of the joy which is felt by an artistic soul in the contemplation of a system of reasoned knowledge, where the object is science seen on its aesthetic side."<sup>7</sup> What stand, then, is one to take?

*Perhaps we can clarify the issue by a brief philosophical analysis of the nature of poetry and science.*<sup>8</sup>

Even when dealing with the same object, poetry and science proceed by different methods to distinct goals. The aim of science is exact, minute, and precise organization of all relevant facts into a clearly ordered scheme or system wherein the facts themselves are rendered more intelligible by being seen in relation to their proximate causes and universal laws of regular behaviour. What is sought is certitude, i.e., the truth of judgment by affirmation and negation proceeding by strict syllogistic induction from concrete and particular premises (the facts or data) to a universal conclusion (scientific law) necessarily and unalterably established by those premises. The goal of science, then, is proof or logical demonstration of a certain unity (law) in Nature. Its apt medium of expression is expository, unadorned prose proceeding in strict logical sequence. If analogy is employed, it is not to beautify (as in meta-

(The author of this study of the blending of science and poetry is a young Jesuit scholar with a prodigious record of accomplishment. One of his more recent works is a study of Gerard Manly Hopkins; several years ago he published (with Vincent C. Horrigan, S.J.) *A Reading Course in Homeric Greek*. For the past year and more he has been stationed at St. Beuno's College at St. Asaph in North Wales; earlier he was at West Baden College in Indiana and at St. Louis University. His most recent contribution to THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL was a report on matters classical in England, "John Bull on Helicon" in April, 1949 (44:332-334).

In fairness to Father Schoder, it should be explained by the editors that his paper was accepted and filed before the appearance of Cyril Bailey's monumental study of Lucretius—hence its absence from the bibliography.

phorical analogy) but, by illustrative analogy, to clarify the matter. The logical stress is on the objective procession or "consequence" of the conclusion from the premises, and the proper mental function is that termed reason or science.<sup>9</sup>

Poetry, on the other hand, aims at representing the relevant facts in an impressive collocation and integration as a picture for intellectual contemplation in its entirety when the intelligible form, from which the integration proceeds, has been presented to the mind by the concerted operation of the exterior and interior senses, especially the highest of these—the imagination. What is sought is admiration of the object in itself, by reason of its beauty revealed in the unified perfection of fulness of its being, the pleasing order and proportion of its parts, and the eminent clarity of its intelligible structure which delights the mind as being that type of ordered reality for which it is ever seeking as its natural object and source of satisfaction.<sup>10</sup>

The logical process here is not one of necessary outgrowth of conclusion from established premises, or even of more probable and less probable deduction from accepted premises (as in disputative Dialectic and persuasive Rhetoric, respectively), but one of artificial establishment (*πολησίας*) of the conclusion. The conclusion is presented in itself as its own evidence and proof, and only illuminated (not proved) by the analogies adduced by the poet—who is not pointing out their independently existing connection with the conclusion (for there is none), but *making* it by the very act of setting them in conjunction.<sup>11</sup>

The aim of poetry is pleasure, in the intuitive contemplation (by that function of the mind termed speculative wisdom) of a beautiful portion of reality as a whole, made more beautiful by being set in explicit relationship to the totality of being and to its ultimate causes. It is concerned, not with the discursive demonstration of logical "consequence" within a series of thought-progressions, but with the intuitive appreciation of the "consequent" or conclusion in itself as a thing

of beauty. Its apt medium of expression is consequently choice, ornate, and rhythmical language proceeding by successive direct presentations of the object under various aspects until it is grasped and appreciated as a unified whole of varied but proportionate and harmonious parts. In short, poetry convinces one of a truth to *admire*, not to know merely or, *ex se*, to act on it. It proceeds, not by logical demonstration of an objectively pre-existent consequence, but by making one see some striking reality in itself, by contemplation of a partially subjective and poetically created consequent (the poem itself, as embodiment and counterpart of the poet's experience), towards the grasping of which the poetic use of words and rhythm functions as a sort of premise.

In the poetic act, both on the part of the poet and of his reader, all the human faculties must operate, and on their highest natural plane.<sup>12</sup> The intellect in its noblest function: contemplative wisdom; the will in rejoicing in a good obtained; the external senses, especially the eyes and ears, in directly contacting the object and conveying it to the consciousness; the internal senses,<sup>13</sup> particularly memory and imagination, in adapting the impression for intellectual apprehension, and in clothing it with associated details from past experience to enhance its significance and appeal; and the sensitive emotions, in sharing by redundancy the pleasures of the higher faculties, and thereby corroborating them.

### *The Rôle of Imagination*

FOR OUR PRESENT study, only the rôle of the imagination in poetry needs further delineation. This is an internal sense which conserves and recalls the residual traces or species of past sensitive experiences and variably blends them with the present experience. It is aptly called by St. Thomas "quasi thesaurus quidam formarum per sensum acceptarum,"<sup>14</sup> and a permanent principle of human knowledge, as co-cause of all intelligible species.<sup>15</sup> It is, in consequence, a faculty by which we experience an absent object,<sup>16</sup> for by the laws of association it conjures up

details of the object previously but not at present perceived, and adds them to the present experience—filling in, for example, aspects of this mountain view when I saw it by moonlight but not now appearing.

Imagination thus blends the new act into the whole continuity of one's life, and deepens the present impression by adding other details and associations not actually repeated just now, quickening the experience as it were by the momentum of similar experiences in the past, so that it is far more striking and rich in meaning. Again, constructive imagination may call up some wholly distinct but related object, thus serving as the basis for all analogies and metaphors, and giving us a splendid line like *nocturnasque faces caeli, sublime volantis* (*Lucr.* 2.206). Or it may, under reason's guidance, combine elements of various disparate experiences into one new object never seen on sea or land. This is called 'creative imagination' and is possible because the imagination is not restricted to the 'here and now' of definite extrinsic stimuli.

The functions of poetic imagination, then, are to render the object vivid more in details, to beautify it by establishing striking or picturesque relationships with other things,<sup>17</sup> to build up a framework and background for the whole picture, to evoke those metaphors which Aristotle has called the essence of poetry,<sup>18</sup> to pass beyond the surface into the hidden depths of things, to sublimate the commonplace by showing it in a new and warmer light, to enliven the whole poem by setting each part in a fuller context of reality and clothing it with beauty brought in on wings of association from afar. And as in the cognitive process phantasms are the necessary prerequisites of intellectual concepts, the more facile a poet's imagination is and the more richly stored his treasury of images, the more associations will rise to hover about the present experience, and the more vigorous will be the play of his intellect in appraising it.

'Fancy' is distinguished from imagination only in being more on the surface of things, more playful and incidental, less stimulating

to the emotions than imagination, which penetrates to deeper secrets of being and casts bridges of relationship across the most forbidding chasms.<sup>19</sup>

The other factors in poetry—thought, emotion, metrical structure, and devices like alliteration, assonance, onomatopoeia, and verbal repetition—need only be mentioned, as they lie outside the present study.<sup>20</sup> But it must be noted (though it is usually overlooked) that rhythm, onomatopoeia, etc. are often vehicles of imagination as much as is verbal imagery. For they can become sound-imagery, building up aural phantasms around the visualized object in a way to increase decidedly the effect. We can get the impression of majesty, terror, gloom, light gracefulness, etc., by ear as well as by verbal description. Indeed, to the latter these sound patterns become a true musical accompaniment, the finest conveyor of moods and emotions.<sup>21</sup>

In the light of all this, we may better appreciate Lucretius' problem in the *De Rerum Natura*, and his degree of success in solving it. By setting himself to poeticize Epicurus' bald and prosaic doctrinal system,<sup>22</sup> Lucretius assumed the Atlantean burden of producing a poetic didactic poem. We have seen that the aims and procedures of scientific exposition and poetry are disparate, so that the poet, as Mallock says, ". . . tries to raise the commonplace into the region of the mysterious; the man of science tries to bring down the mysterious to the level of the commonplace."<sup>23</sup> Yet a fusion of the two is not impossible for genius. Great didactic poetry has been written, by a proper combination of matter and technique. Yet it remains, perhaps, the hardest of poetic tasks.

The problem is to infuse a strictly poetic form into a scientifically organized progression of details. This is not too hard when a particular aspect or portion of the facts has an inherent grandeur, significance, or sweeping range, for then the things described are poetic in themselves. Where this is not the case (as it usually is not, with ordinary themes), the author must render the presentation, at least, poetic. He may do this by the very power and energy of his description, by vivid

yet reasonable emotional intensity in contemplating his subject, by casting the matter into episode form or a dramatic and personalized presentation through human agents, by building it into a picturesquesque tableau or finely wrought descriptive cameo, by giving the very words of his exposition the charm and melody of music, and above all by energizing arid facts through comparisons and striking imagery such as metaphors, similes, and personifications. To be both scientific and poetic, both teach and delight, the writer has either to reveal an inherent charm and appeal in his topic or give it one from without by the artistry of his treatment—and this throughout the whole length of his work so that it remains at all times an authentic poem.<sup>24</sup>

This poses many special difficulties, not the least of them being a certain slavery of the poet to the scientific exigencies of his theme, requiring that all details be fully incorporated and in an order pre-determined by their logical connection. The poet is not free to choose only such material as is easily susceptible of poetic treatment, or to arrange it at will in the manner best fitted to his artistic plan. That is a major restriction inherent in the proposal of writing didactic poetry. The danger is always present of either slipping off too frequently into mere versified prose or of weakening the scientific and argumentative structure of the piece by omission of important items which prove recalcitrant to poetic handling.

Clearly, an ideal solution to the dilemma is Dante's brilliantly executed device of narrating an eye-witness account of personal exploration and discovery among just such facts as one wishes to teach. Lucretius does not employ this technique, but trusting to his own enthusiasm and deep interest in the subject, and conscious of possessing the rare combination of a shrewd scientific eye and a splendid poetic imagination,<sup>25</sup> he valorously takes up the challenge, and hopes for a kind hearing.<sup>26</sup>

Was he the genius to achieve success? Baumgartner protests that no great poet would have chosen so dry a theme,<sup>27</sup> while

Sikes<sup>28</sup> counters that "a small poet would hardly have chosen the most stupendous of all subjects." Others remark on his imaginative grasp of vast dramatic aspects in the cosmic story,<sup>29</sup> of the inherent sublimity of a philosophic view of the universe, revealing its order as ". . . something beautiful, tragic, sympathetic to the mind, and just what every poet . . . is always trying to catch."<sup>30</sup> Duff argues that "to compose an epic on the universe is in itself a majestic and poetic idea," and notes in Lucretius ". . . that depth of feeling which makes the dry bones of his science live, and brings poetry into his physics."<sup>31</sup> Mallock further shows that he has just the faculty needed under the circumstances: ". . . a rude, fierce vigor of imagination, which will not be content with a hazy presentation of anything, but will have it dragged close before us, solid, bare, and naked,"<sup>32</sup> so that he has the ". . . habit of conceiving everything in some imaginable or picturable form. . . . Of all ancient poets, indeed, he is perhaps the most pictur-esque."<sup>33</sup>

Consequently, although the painfully evident falsity of most of his philosophical and many of his scientific tenets mars the inspiring sublimity which an epic of the cosmos admittedly could have, and although straight scientific exposition (which forms four-fifths of the poem) has been shown essentially unpoetic, and despite the fact that, as Sellar points out,<sup>34</sup> in its whole conception and general execution the *De Rerum Natura* fails to achieve the distinction of great poetry, nevertheless Lucretius is undoubtedly a great poet. How justify this antinomy? By indicating Lucretius' poetic capacities and isolated achievements, yet failure to dominate his entire chosen material in an authentically poetic manner.

The point, in all its aspects, is well illustrated by Book II, where we may observe his ". . . power of poeticizing the most stubborn material"<sup>35</sup> in as fair a proportion of alternate triumphs and abeyance in the face of plain argumentative impulse as in any part of the poem.<sup>36</sup> An ordered analysis of these passages will be, then, of value toward

an appreciation of Lucretius' genius, for they are typical of the whole.

### Major Imaginative Passages

TEN SECTIONS of Book II deserve special notice for their extended imaginative quality. The prologue (1-61),<sup>37</sup> as usual, is pure poetry, a sort of special impetus to imagination and emotions to get us off to a good start. We are given eight vivid pictures, blended by a single thought into unity: the tumult of a storm at sea and of a great battle enjoyed from the safety of a remote outlook; the view from Philosophy's lofty fortress, wisdom-girt and serene, of the petty struggles of worldly and ambitious men;<sup>38</sup> the rich mansion adorned with golden statuettes *lampadas igniferas manibus retinentia dextris*, and gleaming with gold and silver while its finely panelled halls echo to festive music; the idyllic scene of a simple meal in the valley, with happy friends

prostrati in gramine molli  
propter aquae rivum sub ramis arboris altae . . .  
praesertim cum tempestas adridet et anni  
tempora conspurgent viridantis floribus herbas;

the renewed vision of a swaying struggle of arms on land or sea; a glimpse of splendidly arrayed nobles and haughty kings, against a background of homely commoners and in an atmosphere of impending doom; and children trembling with foolish fear in the dark, like grown men in full daylight whose superstitions have not been dissipated by the bright sunlight of Philosophy. There is, too, that fine burst of noble emotion:

o miseris hominum mentes, o pectora caeca!  
qualibus in tenebris vitae quantisque periclis  
degitur hoc aevi quodcumque!

the striking metaphor of *alios passimque videre/errare atque viam palantis quaerere vitae*, and a remarkable personification in the strong, deft sketch of false fears: *timefactae religiones/effugient animo pavidae . . .*, and a bit later: *metus hominum curaeque sequaces*. The whole passage manifests strength of feeling and imagination in fine control.

The splendid imaginative grasp of the

beauty of dawn at 144-149 needs no other praise than admiring citation:

primum Aurora novo cum spargit lumine terras  
et variae volucres, nemora avia pervolantates,  
aera per tenerum liquidis loca vocibus opplent,  
quam subito soleat sol ortus tempore tali  
convestire sua perfundens omnia luce,  
omnibus in promptu manifestumque esse videmus.

One of the finest and most striking analogies in the poem is the famous passage (317-332) where the possibility of an undetected milling about of the atoms is illustrated by comparison to sheep grazing on a distant hill and to the far clash of armies. Brilliant imaginative force is shown not only in discovering so apt a relationship, but in picturing it with such charm and vigor. Particularly delightful are the lines:

lanigerae reptant pecudes, quo quamque vocantes  
invitant herbae gemmantes rore recenti,  
et satiati agni ludunt blandeque coruscant.

This is cited by Mewaldt<sup>39</sup> as an outstanding instance of Lucretius' eminent *dichterische Kunst*, while Masson refers to it as proof of the unusual gift, in a poet, of "scientific imagination."<sup>40</sup>

If masterly reconstruction in words of a scene and mood of Nature reveals the poet, Lucretius certainly shows poetic power by his fine eye for details and quick sympathy for natural beauty and animal emotions in his manner of noting the prosaic fact of Epicurus' postulate of variety of form in the atoms. He recalls, in lines of exquisite beauty (342-376), the various shapes of men and 'finny fish' and beasts,

et variae volucres, laetantia quae loca aquarum  
concelebrant circum ripas fontisque lacusque,  
et quae pervolant nemora avia pervolantates.

Then he turns to depict a cow searching pathetically for her calf<sup>41</sup> carried off to sacrifice at the "incense-fuming" altars, where he lies, *sanguinis expirans calidum de pectore flumen*, while the mother wanders through the green valleys searching for the tracks of her lost calf and filling the leafy grove with her lowing, while neither dew-sweetened pastures nor the sight of her other young can

ease her spirit of its cares. There follows a second picture, briefer, but just as tender: *praeterea teneri tremulis cum vocibus haedi cornigeras norunt matres, agnique petulci balantum pecudes . . .*

and to cap it all, this lyric description of parti-colored sea shells:

*concharumque genus partii ratione videmus pingere telluris gremium, qua mollibus undis litoris incurvi bibulam pavit aequor harenam.*

The metaphor of *telluris gremium* within the larger comparison is a notable refinement of an already impressive imaginative performance.

The limits to atomic variation are established by an appeal to things Lucretius considers unsurpassably beautiful, and it is not strange that he details these objects with delighted stress of essential features:

*iam tibi barbaricae vestes Meliboeaque fulgens purpura, Thessalico concharum imitata colore, aurea pavonum ridenti imbuta lepro saecula, nova rerum superata colore iacent et contemptus odor smyrnae mellisque sapores, et cycnea mele Phoebeaque daedala chordis carmina consimili ratione oppressa silerent. namque alii aliud praestantius exoreretur.* (500-507)

His vivid concept of universal chaos if the atoms were limited in number calls up the majestic image of the surging sea of the universe and the awful shipwreck which its storming currents would eternally make of all things (547-564). The description of an earthly storm at sea and the ruined ships is remarkably powerful, and climaxes in that burst of true Roman distrust of Neptune's element:

*infidi maris insidias virisque columque ut vitare velint neve ullo tempore credant, subdola cum ridet placidi pellacia ponti.*

Still glowing in mind from this vast vision, he almost immediately presents us with another (572-580) in which a cosmic war of matched forces (reminding us of Empedocles' Love and Strife) struggle to alternate victory: *sic aequo geritur certamine principiorum ex infinito contractum tempore bellum.*

*nunc hic nunc illic superant vitalia rerum et superant item: miscetur funere vagor, quem pueri tollunt visentis luminis oras; nec nox ulla diem neque noctem Aurora secutast, quae non audierit mixtos vagitibus aegris ploratus, mortis comites et funeralis atri.*

The basic analogy, the gripping clarity of the picture, and its efficacy in moving us to a sense of melancholy pathos bear witness to the fierce energy of Lucretius' imagination when he wills to give it scope.

With the sweeping impressiveness of a great pageant, so pictorial are the outlines and so audible the tumult that stand forth in the poet's lines, the Magna Mater rites come to life and parade before our fascinated minds (600-645). Its imaginative force is especially evident in such lines as the description of the Curetes:

*ludunt in numerumque exultant sanguine laeti, terrificas capitum quatientes numine cristas . . .*

and in the noble aura of sympathy cast about the words: *aeternumque daret matri sub pectori volvus.* The whole passage must be read; it is too long for quotation here.

By the fine device (1032-1039) of imagining how the starry heavens would impress people if suddenly revealed for the first time, Lucretius is able to increase our attention to the description he gives of them:

*principio caeli clarum purumque colorem quaeque in se cohibet, palantia sidera passim lunamque et solis praeclara luce nitorem.*

Thereby he makes us share in his own undulled appreciation of *haec species miranda*, so ably imaged in his beautiful lines.

At the very end of the book (1144-1174), he sketches a sombre but noble picture of the earth in its early exuberance bringing forth all the things on its surface, but now in effete decay hardly supporting what it has made. Then with a few vivid strokes, he creates the unforgettable figure of the weary farmer complaining in vain of an irresistible degeneration of the world:

*iamque caput quassans grandis spirat arator crebrius, incassum magnos cedisse labores . . . nec tenet omnia paulatim tabescere et ire ad capulum, spatio aetatis defessa vetusto.*

The melancholy movement and bold figure of the final line are a triumph of imagination, whose very painfulness is pleasing.<sup>42</sup>

(The second part of Father Schoder's paper will be published in our next issue.—Ed.)

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> John Conington, *Miscellaneous Writings* (London, Longmans, 1872) 241 f.

<sup>2</sup> M. Patin, *Études sur la Poésie Latine*<sup>3</sup> (Paris, Hachette, 1914) 1.284.

<sup>3</sup> *Poetics* 1447b19.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Conington, *Miscellaneous Writings* 241.

<sup>5</sup> John A. Nairn, *Authors of Rome* (London, Jarrold, 1924) 99.

<sup>6</sup> F. M. Connell, S.J., *A Textbook for the Study of Poetry* (New York, Allyn and Bacon, 1913) 145 f.

<sup>7</sup> J. Verest, S.J., *Manuel de Littérature*<sup>3</sup> (Bruxelles, Société Belge, 1908) 509.

<sup>8</sup> For the basis of this analysis see Aristotle, *N. E.* 1139b14–1141b3, *An. Post.* 99b20–100a11, *Met.* 1105a20–1106a1; St. Thomas Aquinas, *In Aristotelis An. Post. 1.1*, *In Ethica 6.3*, *In Physica 1.2.4. 14*, *Summa Theol.* 1.22.2, 1.91.3, 1–2.50.4, 1–2.57.2–5, 1–2.68.7, 1–2.93.1, 1–2.94.1, 2–2.4.8, 2–2.47.5, *Contra Gent.* 2.75, 3.24, 3.44, 46, 4.11, *De Ver.* 1.1, 1.12, 3.1, 5.1, *De Virt.* in *Communi* 7, 13, *De Potentia* 2.3, 2. D. *De Anima* 4.6, *In Sent.* 2.24.2–3, 2.39.3.1, 3.24.3.2 ad 1, *In Arist. De Anima* 3.10, *In Met. 1.1*, *In Boetii De Trin.* 6.4.

General studies of Aristotelian-Thomistic analysis of art are: Charles Bénard, *L'Esthétique d'Aristote et de ses Successeurs* (Paris, Alcan, 1889), Leonard Callahan, O.P., *A Theory of Esthetic according to the Principles of St. Thomas Aquinas* (Washington, Cath. U., 1927), Jacques Maritain, *Art and Scholasticism* (New York, Scribner, 1930), Maurice de Wulf, *L'Oeuvre d'Art et la Beauté* (Paris, Alcan, 1920), Sister M. Emmanuel Brennan, *The Intellectual Virtues according to the Philosophy of St. Thomas* (Washington, Cath. U., 1941), J. Peghaire, *Intellectus et Ratio selon S. Thomas d'Aquin* (Paris, Vrin, 1936).

<sup>9</sup> On the process of science, see further St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.* 1.79.8–12, 1.14.16, 1–2.57.2, 2–2.51.2 ad 3, 2–2.53.4.

<sup>10</sup> St. Thomas: "Ad pulchritudinem tria requiruntur: primo quidem integritas sive perfectio . . . et debita proportio sive consonantia . . . et item claritas," *Summa Theol.* 1.39.8.

<sup>11</sup> For the discrimination of logical connection in the various forms of knowledge, see Walter J. Ong, S.J., "The Province of Rhetoric and Poetic," *Modern Schoolman* 19 (1941) 24–27.

<sup>12</sup> I have analyzed the various operations in questions in *The Sources of Homer's Appeal: A Literary and Aesthetic Analysis of the Iliad and Odyssey* (Chicago, Loyola U. Libr., 1940) 167–168.

<sup>13</sup> For the function of the internal senses, see Arist., *De An.* 426b–429a, St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.* 1.78.4,

De Pot. *Animae* chap. 4, George P. Klubertanz, S.J., "The Internal Senses in the Process of Cognition," *Modern Schoolman* 18 (1940) 27–31.

<sup>14</sup> *Summa Theol.* 1.78.4. Cf. Robert E. Brennan, O.P., *Thomistic Psychology* (New York, Macmillan, 1941) 126–129.

<sup>15</sup> *Summa Theol.* 1.84.6, 1.85.1–2, In *Boetii De Trin.* 6.2 ad 5. Cf. Brennan, *Thomistic Psychology* 179–195, Thomas V. Moore, O.S.B., *Cognitive Psychology* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1939) 121–130. Michael Maher, S.J., *Psychology: Empirical and Rational*<sup>9</sup> (London, Longmans, 1933) 303–313.

<sup>16</sup> St. Thomas, *In Arist. De An.* 3.4–6, 3.15–16, *De Pot. Animae* chap. 4.

<sup>17</sup> These are the only operations treated by A. M. Ashley in "Poetic Imagery in Homer and Vergil," *Greece and Rome*<sup>2</sup> (1932) 21–28.

<sup>18</sup> Poet. 1459a5–8.

<sup>19</sup> See Maher, *Psychology* 170, John J. Jolin, S.J., *A Comparative Study of Lucretius and Milton with Reference to their Powers of Imagination and Fancy* (St. Louis U. Library, 1934) 6–1c.

<sup>20</sup> Good treatments of them in relation to Lucretius may be found in E. E. Sikes, *Lucretius: Poet and Philosopher* (Cambridge U., 1936) chap. 2, in W. Y. Sellar, *The Roman Poets of the Republic*<sup>3</sup> (Oxford U., 1905) 295–299, and in Jolin, *Lucretius and Milton* chap. 2 and 8.

<sup>21</sup> The point is touched upon by G. Thomson under the heading of "significant rhythm" in his *Greek Lyric Metres*, in the statistical analysis of Rosamund E. Deutsch, *The Pattern of Sound in Lucretius* (Menasha, Banta, 1939), and from a different angle in Paul Friedländer's study, "Pattern of Sound and Atonistic Theory in Lucretius," *AJPh* 62 (1941) 16–34.

<sup>22</sup> The texts are collected in H. Usener, *Epicurus* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1887) and in Cyril Bailey, *Epicurus: the Extant Remains* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1926). For the prosaicness of Epicurus, see E. E. Sikes, *Roman Poetry* (New York, Dutton, 1923) 163 and John Masson, *Lucretius: Epicurean and Poet* (London, Murray, 1907) xxv f., who exclaims: "This is, indeed, poetic imagination, so far, who have built a palace out of Epicurus' bricks and stones."

<sup>23</sup> W. H. Mallock, *Lucretius* (New York, Alden, 1883) 132 f.

<sup>24</sup> See Verest, *Manuel de Littérature* 508–510.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Masson, *Lucretius* 387, and Lionel Johnson, *Post Liminium: Essays and Critical Papers* (London, Matthews, 1912) 61, who compares Goethe. One might also mention Alfred Noyes' *Torch Bearers*, an epic of scientific progress.

<sup>26</sup> See Lucr. 4.18–25.

<sup>27</sup> Alexander Baumgartner, S.J., *Geschichte der Weltliteratur*, Band III: *Die Griechische und Lateinische Literatur des Klassischen Altertums*<sup>3</sup> (Freiburg, Herder, 1900) 398: "Die Stoffwahl war eine entschieden unglückliche, auf die ein Wirklich grosser Dichter kaum verfallen wäre."

<sup>28</sup> *Lucretius* 25.

<sup>29</sup> George D. Hadzsits, *Lucretius and His Influence* (New York, Longmans, 1935) 341.

<sup>30</sup> George Santayana, *Three Philosophical Poets:*

Lucretius, Dante, and Goethe (Cambridge, Harvard U., 1910) 10.

<sup>31</sup> J. Wight Duff, *A Literary History of Rome from the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age*<sup>2</sup> (London, Fisher Unwin, 1923) 292.

<sup>32</sup> *Lucretius* 133.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 134. See also Wm. E. Leonard and Stanley B. Smith, *T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura Libri Sex*, with introduction and commentary (Madison, U. of Wis. Press, 1942) 183 f.: "If the energy of Lucretius expressed itself in vivid and vigorous metaphor, it also enabled him to put before us a series of pictures at once precise and realistic. . . . There is nothing in his verse that is misty or in 'soft focus'."

<sup>34</sup> Roman Poets of Republic 386.

<sup>35</sup> Sikes, *Roman Poetry* 164.

<sup>36</sup> Sikes, *Lucretius* 15: "... there is as much poetry in the Second Book, which is largely argumentative, as in any other part of the *De Rerum Natura*."

<sup>37</sup> Passages from Book II will hereafter be indicated simply by line numbers in the text. The readings followed are those of Smith, *op. cit.* (note 33, above).

<sup>38</sup> This recalls Plato's striking image of the philosopher crouching behind a jutting wall to escape the whirlwind of vulgar life (*Rep.* 496b-e). For its similarity to a famous modern poem, see Wm. Charles Korfacher, "Lucretius and Tennyson's *Palace of Art*" *CB* 10 (1933) 27.

<sup>39</sup> Joannes Mewaldt, *RE* s.v. "Lucretius" col. 1672.

<sup>40</sup> *Lucretius* 382.

<sup>41</sup> Wm. A. Merrill, "On *Lucretius* 2.355-360," *CQ* 13 (1919) 173, notes that California cattlemen vouch for the accuracy of this description of a heifer's conduct under the circumstances.

<sup>42</sup> The figure remains one of the powerful line in Hopkins' *Spelt from Sibyl's Leaves* "... womb-of-all, home-of-all, hearse-of-all/Night." *Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, S.J.<sup>2</sup> (New York, Oxford U. Press, 1930) 51.

## Liber Animalium

### CASTOR

HODIE FABULAM tristem castoris audiamus, qui etiam beber vocatur. Unus est ex iis animalibus quae adventu hominum alborum paene deleta sunt. Nam cuniculi porcique terrestres feliciter circum aedificia agricoliarum habitant crescuntque semper multitudine sed castores miseri interficiuntur. Ubi naves Christoferi Columbi primum ad terram nostram pervenerunt, multitudo castorum trans continentem immensum dispersorum innumerabilis fuit. Aggeribus suis campos fertiles quos coloni cupiebant laboriose paraverant.

Inimicus tamen acerbissimus castoris non colonus fuit sed mercator, qui avide pelles petebat. Indiani infelices vino albo potentissimo, quod aqua ignea vocabatur, ad pelles colligendas temptabantur. In Europa ab regibus societates institutae sunt quae in omnes partes procuratores mitterent ad pelles petendas. Socii horum negotiorum divites facti, castores miseri paene deleti sunt.

Graeci antiqui in moribus quorundam animalium iustitiam naturalem intellexerunt. In greges conveniunt. Inter se non nocent. Contra impetus aliorum animalium gregem defendunt. Ad securitatem communem conservandam pactum inter se habere videntur.

Huius modi est vita castorum. Si quis unum vel duos publico in horto interdum videt, haec est res tristissima et contra naturam. Solum in grege beatे vivunt. Labore communi aquae fluvialis retinendae causa ex ramis, truncis et luto aedificatur agger. Si forte diruptus est, universi concurrunt ad opus reficiendi. Arbores grandes dentibus acutis sicut ferro caeduntur. Fit lacus placidus. Ibi par quodque castorum ex ramulis lutoque casam parvulam et rotundam sibi suisque aedificat. Aditus sub aqua est, intus cubiculum supra. Ibi catuli nascuntur. Ubi hiems advenit, lupi iniuriam facere non possunt, quod lutum frigore durissimum fit.

Tum vero cum laqueis invadunt homines albi, contra quos lutum gelatum nihil valet. Anteas pelles mollissimae longissime exportabantur ut isti Capita Rotunda aut Caballarii, ut vocabantur, vestimenta speciosa vel petasos amplissimos ostentarent.

Si fas est dicere, etiam viri nostri, sicut ille Danielis Webster, in capite cylindros altos nigrosque superbissime gerebant. Hi cylindri ex pellibus castorum facti sunt. Optimae omnium ad feltrum faciendum fuerunt.

ANON.

*A brief outline of the rise and fall of a type—  
The man who was handsome and good.*

By Theodore Bedrick

## The Race of Athletes: A Picture of the Past

**I**N TRACING the development of athletics in antiquity, one finds himself at almost a complete loss for material until he reaches the Grecian world described by Homer. There are earlier signs of sport in other lands, but of a highly limited nature, and probably mere display of specialized skill, such as the bull acrobatics and boxing shows in Crete and the highly-developed wrestling technique of Egypt.

In Greece, however, there evolved a nation of men conscious of the value of athletic tendencies, which resulted in the finest general physical condition, the greatest community participation and interest the world has ever known. The complete story is spread over many centuries, and a host of ancient writers shared in its telling.

The roving Nordics who filtered down through Greece brought with them love of battle and joy in a hard-fought contest. From Homer<sup>1</sup> we derive an elaborate picture of the Achaean sports, and it was natural that the huge blond heroes should engage in those contests only which were closely related to war: archery, spear and weight-casting, armed conflict, boxing, running, wrestling, and a chariot race under the conditions of the battlefield. The aristocratic leaders alone

seem to have participated, and each was superbly conditioned; witness Ajax who competed in no fewer than four of the eight events. The occasion of the games was the death of Patroclus, and there were no elaborate preparations, no artificiality. Each who entered the lists received an award, and although the contest was a vigorous one, the behavior was that of true gentlemen, as illustrated in the following passage:

"... And noble Epeios came on, and as the other spied for an opening, smote him on the cheek, nor could he much more stand, for his fair limbs failed straightway under him. . . . But great-hearted Epeios took him in his hands and set him upright, and his dear comrades stood around him, and led him through the ring with trailing feet, spitting out clotted blood, drooping his head awry, and they set him down in his swoon among them and themselves went forth and fetched the two-handled cup."<sup>2</sup>

Because of the athletic spirit of the early Greeks, and as a result of the periodic funeral and religious celebrations, a set of national and local festivals arose. Interest centered on the contests, sometimes musical, more often athletic. In 776 B.C., a traditional date, the games at Olympia were revived and developed rapidly. Of them Lysias declared that not the least of the many debts owed to Heracles was that by instituting the Olympic games he restored peace and goodwill to a land torn asunder by war and faction and wasted by pestilence.<sup>3</sup> It was true that at about the time of the revival, the situation in Greece improved, and the Olympic festival served as a uniting factor of real consequence. A sacred truce was proclaimed for the month during which the celebration occurred, to render safe travel to

<sup>1</sup>Our author is a graduate of Brown University (A.B.) and the University of Illinois (Ph.D.). After serving as an instructor at the University of Nebraska and the University of Illinois, he is now a member of the faculty of Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana.

Professor Bedrick collaborated with the late Professor William Abbott Oldfather in a course on ancient athletics at the University of Illinois, and taught it for three years until his departure to Wabash College. Professor Bedrick's present paper is based upon the text read at the meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in Milwaukee in April, 1948.

the games. Early in the sixth century three other national festivals were reorganized: at Delphi, the Isthmus of Corinth, and Nemea, and they were modeled upon that at Olympia. Crowds from all over the Greek world thronged to these gatherings which took place every two or four years. It afforded an opportunity, especially in later times, for the orators to deliver political addresses, as Gorgias did in 427 when he urged Greek unity. Philosophers lectured and historians read from their works, and on such an occasion, when Herodotus was reciting his history, young Thucydides is said to have been moved to tears, and then to the desire to write an even greater work himself. Dio Chrysostom represents Diogenes as being present at the Isthmian Festival, and describes the background thus:

"Besides, it was possible at that time around the temple of Poseidon to hear many wretched sophists shouting at one another, and each reviling the other, and their so-called pupils wrangling with one another over something, many authors reading aloud from their stupid works, many poets chanting their poems, with others complimenting their work, many magicians giving an exhibition of their magic, many seers interpreting portents, a myriad of lawyers twisting law suits, and finally no small number of peddlers peddling the wares which each happened to have."<sup>14</sup>

There was intense rivalry between the small Greek communities, and a victory in any Panhellenic contest, especially at Olympia, brought recognition and renown. The prize, consisting of a simple crown of leaves, was of no intrinsic value. Yet, because of the glory of national victory, other honors were added: the privilege of erecting a votive statue to be placed in the sacred precinct, at first a type statue of the event, later a portrait statue of the victor. The ode of victory, called epinicion, was another notable feature, composed by renowned poets of the day, and the odes of Pindar serve as glorious and exalted literary memorials of the finest traditions of Greek athletics:

"There are times when men's greatest need is  
favouring winds,  
Times when they need most the sky-waters, the  
rain-daughters of the Cloud:

But when with hard toil a man fareth gloriously,  
Then honey-voiced songs become to him the prelude of a long-abiding record and a trusty pledge for the remembrance of his greatest deed of valour.

Such praise is dedicated to the Olympian victors in abundant measure;

And such themes indeed my tongue is fain to shepherd:

But it is only by God's help that a man blossoms with the poet's thoughts according to his heart's desire.

Be assured now, Agesidamos, son of Archestratos,

That for the sake of thy battle with the boxers I will raise sweet strains on high that will add lustre to thy crown of golden olive,  
Having a care to thy lineage from among the Locrians of the west . . . "<sup>15</sup>

The sixth century was still an age of strong men, with continued emphasis on all-round physical preparedness for the brutal business of war. It seemed a matter of practical importance to follow the lead of Sparta who produced the best soldiers and the greatest number of athletic victors, evidently due to a vigorous system of training her youth. Civic institutions, gymnasia and palaestrae, were established throughout Greece to train the body, and as it turned out, to prepare men for the great national competitions. As athletics grew more popular, rivalries keener, awards more valuable, the pure joy of the contest gradually disappeared. Xenophanes of Colophon early sensed the dangers ahead and protested against the predominance of athletics:

"Yet is he (the athlete) not so worthy as I, and my wisdom is better than the strength of men and horses. Nay, this is a foolish custom, nor is it right to honour strength more than excellent wisdom. Not though there were among the people a man good at boxing, or in the pentathlon, or in wrestling, nay, nor one with swiftness of foot which is most honored in all contests of human strength—not for his presence would the city be better governed. And small joy would there be for a city, should one in contests win a victory by the banks of Pisa. These things do not make fat the dark corners of the city."<sup>16</sup>

His deprecations were to be repeated more vehemently a century later by Euripides,

with greater cause. In that interval of time, a nation of athletic men had deteriorated into a relatively small group of prize-conscious contestants, with professional tendencies; and there was a mass of cheering spectators. Unparalleled physical excellence prevailed until the middle of the Fifth Century, which, if we may judge from Herodotus' words, enabled the Athenians at Marathon to charge cross country for a distance of a mile.<sup>7</sup>

By the beginning of the Fifth Century an athletic ideal had been created, largely due to the Greek's inherent love of beauty and his feeling for symmetry of form and action. By Thucydides' time it was the general practice in athletics to participate in absolute nudity, completely free from the encumbrance of clothing. "To the young" Tyrtaeus the poet had said, "all things are seemly as long as the goodly bloom of lovely youth is on him. A sight for men to marvel at, for women to love while he lives, beautiful, too, when fallen in the front of battle."<sup>8</sup> The Greeks of the Fifth Century derived considerable joy from the sight of a beautiful athletic figure, not the huge powerful hero of the century before, but a lighter more graceful type, able to compete in a variety of contests, in particular, the pentathlon, a popular contest which called for skill in five events: running, jumping, the discus and javelin throws, and wrestling. Moreover, the model for their youth was an athlete who combined the beauty of form with the characteristics of a gentleman; he was expected to be dignified, courteous, noble and manly. And for a time, he was.

But soon after the Persian Wars, the evils of specialization began to take their toll. More comfortable seating arrangements were introduced for the crowds, and the physical condition of society grew steadily worse. Physicians, statesmen, philosophers, generals condemned those practices which were destroying young manhood.

By the fourth century, with the loss of general exercising, certain pronounced physical types were apparent: a weak and effeminate class, too slender and with exaggerated grace; a more fleshy, sluggish group; a nerv-

ous, restless type; and finally the athlete himself, overdeveloped for a single sport, too heavily muscled, his special routine rendering him unfit for war, a forerunner of the coarse, brutalized, stupid gladiators of Roman times. "The athlete's nature is drowsy," says Plato, "and the least variation from his routine is liable to cause him serious illness."<sup>9</sup>

It is worth noting that Sparta never yielded to the pressures that moved all the rest to sacrifice that health of national youth to the glory of the prize. Yet Aristotle explained thus the phenomenal success of Sparta in the Olympic contests for 150 years:

"It is well-known that the Spartans themselves, while they alone were painstaking in their hard drill, surpassed the others, but now they are crushed both in war and gymnastic exercises. For their early advantage was not due to their technique of training the youth, but merely to the circumstance that they trained them when their only rivals did not."<sup>10</sup>

After 576 B.C. the Spartan victories were truly negligible. Desiring primarily to maintain a people fit for war, she was contemptuous of the new system of scientific training and specialization, and refused to allow trainers, or stadia, or permanent arrangements for spectators. Yet she, too, crumbled with the rest, for reasons of weakness in other respects.

The story of Greek athletics is an exciting one; the ending is tragic. Through ancient writings, as well as living monuments of art and architecture, we are able to view this vivid picture of the past. It remains for the scholar, the archaeologist, and the student of sport to bring into clearer focus countless obscurities which still remain.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Especially the *Iliad*, Book XXIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 689-699. Translation by Lang, Leaf, and Myers.

<sup>3</sup> *Olympic Oration*.

<sup>4</sup> *Oration VII*, 9. Translation by W. A. Oldfather.

<sup>5</sup> *Eleventh Olympian*. Translation by G. S. Farnell.

<sup>6</sup> Translation by E. Norman Gardiner in *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, London, 1910, p. 79.

<sup>7</sup> VI, 112.

<sup>8</sup> 10, 27 ff. (Bergk). Translation by Gardiner, op. cit.

p. 88.

<sup>10</sup> Republic, III, 404A.<sup>10</sup> Politics, 1338b.

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## SUMMER SCHOOL IN ENGLAND

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Miss E. LUCILE NOBLE of Lansdowne, Pennsylvania, who has spent a year in England as an exchange teacher of Latin, is interested in encouraging other classical teachers in this country to share some of the valuable contacts which she has established with colleagues in England. Particularly she recommends the little magazine *Latin Teaching*, published by the Association for the Reform of Latin Teaching, and the annual Summer School sponsored by that organization. In order to attract American teachers who might be able to go to England during the summer vacation, it is planned to hold the Summer School well before the beginning of September in 1950.

We quote in part a letter which Miss Noble received from the editor of *Latin Teaching*, C. W. E. Peckett, M.A., Priory School, Shrewsbury, Salop, dated July 15, 1949.

"Since the War, the Summer School has lasted a week; before the War it used to last ten days and we may decide on the longer period next year. We travel about the country and are going to Cambridge this year, which I expect would have been very interesting for you in America. We shall probably try to go to Oxford next year, or possibly somewhere in the North of England. . . . At the course we run a beginners' demonstration class, when I, or someone similar, take a class of boys who have never done Latin before and demonstrate the first month's work in the direct method. This, as you may well imagine, is very revealing and quite exciting. There are also demonstration classes in second and third year work and reading classes, both advanced and elementary, in Latin and Greek. The advanced classes read a book more for its contents while the elementary ones concentrate more on the

pronunciation, and in the Greek, on tonic accent. There are also circuli, i.e. small groups which get together with a book under a leader with the main idea of improving their fluency in spoken Latin. There are lectures, too, in pronunciation, Classical Literature, and similar things, and usually one on local antiquities. Afternoons are free, and one of them is usually devoted to an excursion to some neighboring Roman site. In the evenings there are such things as debates in Latin, and the whole thing finishes up with an astonishing entertainment consisting of impromptu plays and other acts in Latin."

Readers who might be interested are invited to write to Miss E. Lucile Noble, 326 Lincoln Avenue, Lansdowne, Pennsylvania.

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## EMPERORS AND D.I.'S

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IT WILL undoubtedly come as a surprise to the average U. S. Marine Corps Drill Instructor (D.I.) to learn that one of his favorite disciplinary devices has an attested history as ancient and honorable as that of the Corps itself.

Writing of post-war training conditions at the Marine Boot Camp, Parris Island, South Carolina, Gilbert Bailey observes:<sup>1</sup>

To make a believer out of a skeptic, the D.I. sometimes resorts to an ancient practice known as hazing. . . . A careless recruit throws a candy-wrapper on the floor, so the D.I. picks it up for him and lets him hold it in his "little hand" for three hours until the hand goes slightly numb.

According to Suetonius, Augustus as Emperor introduced many new changes in the army and also revived a few of the older customs.<sup>2</sup>

He exacted the strictest discipline. . . . For faults of other kinds he imposed various ignominious penalties, such as ordering them (centurions) to stand all day before the general's tent . . . holding ten-foot poles or even a clod of earth.

Yet another affinity there is then between the Roman emperor and the Marine Corps

D.I.; any Classically-minded boot can bear witness to their mutual "divinity."

EDWARD C. ECHOLS

*University of Alabama*

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Bailey, "The Marines Still Have the Situation in Hand," *The New York Times*, Magazine Section (January 16, 1949) 45.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* II, 24.

Caesar and Augustus. (Clipping from Miss Essie Hill of Little Rock.)

IN VIEW OF THE far-reaching claims that Russian spokesmen have been making recently to Russian originality in various fields of science and invention, it is perhaps not strange that an attempt should be made to keep their language independent of outside influences. According to an item in the St. Louis POST-DISPATCH of September 15, PRAVDA has registered a protest against the inroads of foreign words in Russian, such as "juridctsia," "aggressia," and "co-ordinatsia." Lenin and Stalin were said to have "advised the use of simple, plain and popular words 'without verbal tricks.'"

The case is quite different with English, which scarcely recognizes Latin loan words as "foreign." Professor Lionel Casson of New York University has submitted an article clipped from OCEAN TIMES published aboard the "Queen Mary" June 5, 1949, which quotes Lord Soulbury, a former British Minister of Education, speaking before the Classical Association at Manchester, England. Readers may remember him as a contributor to THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL of October, 1948. He spoke with apparent pride of the fact that about 60 percent of the English vocabulary is of Latin origin, and added, "It may be a serious handicap to a statesman to be unaware of the association, the history, and the long lineage of many of the words which he employs, and I think that he who is educated in the classics gains from his training the habit of careful attention to the precise meaning of words. . . . In an ideal democracy nobody would be chosen as a parliamentary candidate unless he had satisfied the selection committee that he was competent to translate his election address into reasonably good Latin prose. Such a provision would produce much more intelligible addresses and, perhaps, fewer candidates."

## We See By the Papers . . .

Edited by William C. Salyer

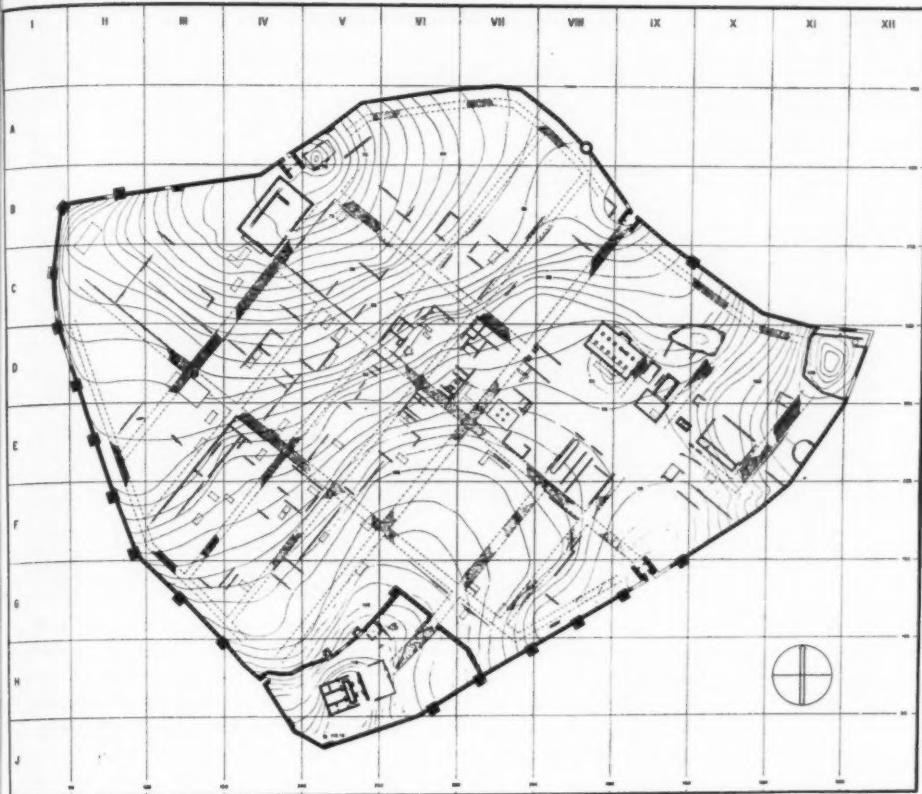
NOTHING NEW UNDER THE SUN is a familiar maxim which newspapers are fond of illustrating from classical history. When Secretary of Agriculture Brannon admitted to a congressional committee last summer that his proposed plan, to support prices for the benefit of farmers while consumers might profit from lower market levels, would in the end have to be paid for by the taxpayer, C. W. Dressler of the Johnstown (Pa.) TRIBUNE cited an ancient parallel for this unusual candor. He pointed to Pericles' program of distributing public benefits, beyond the capacity of his own purse, out of the Athenian treasury, and quoted Aristotle for the statement that "he took the advice of Damonides of Oia . . . which was that, as he was beaten in the matter of private possessions, he should make presents to the people from their own property." This philosophy with regard to the farm plan, in the light of Dressler's citation, was discussed by Arthur Krock in a column of the New York TIMES August 9, 1949, sent us by Professor Harry L. Levy of Hunter College.

An editorial in the Little Rock ARKANSAS GAZETTE of September 28, under the title "Rendering Unto Caesar," suggests that the implications of Jesus' famous words ought not always to be interpreted to the detriment of the state. The case of a Baptist minister who asked the county to increase his tax assessment leads to remarks on the efficiency of methods of assessment under the Roman Empire—certainly well intended, although perhaps too generous to antiquity and with some confusion as to the distinction between Julius

THE COMPLEXION of Elizabeth Taylor, Hollywood actress, was described by a writer quoted in TIME (August 22) as "a bowl of cream with a rose floating in it," a description which one reader thought might have been cribbed from Propertius. Lawrence A. Appleton of San José, Calif., in a letter to the editor published September 19, cited from the *Elegies* on Cynthia: "utque rosae puro lacte natant folia" (2.3.12. Ed.).

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 158

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## Cosa: Republican Colony in Etruria

ONE OF THE FIRST TASKS INCUMBENT ON THE FIELD ARCHAEOLOGIST EXPLORING NEW TERRITORY IS A SURVEY OF THE SITE, ON WHICH ALL CONSTRUCTIONS VISIBLE ABOVE GROUND ARE PLOTTED. THIS SURVEY WAS MADE DURING AN EXPLORATORY CAMPAIGN OF MAY AND JUNE 1948. WITH IT THE EXCAVATORS WERE ABLE TO IDENTIFY, BEFORE SYSTEMATIC EXCAVATION GOT UNDER WAY, COSA'S ADMIRABLY PRESERVED CITY WALL, ITS SQUARE TOWERS, ITS THREE GATES, THE ARX WITH ITS SEPARATE FORTIFICATION, POSTERN GATE, AND TRIPLE-CELLA TEMPLE, THE STREETS AND BLOCK PLAN, THE FORUM, AND A NUMBER OF BUILDINGS, INCLUDING SEVERAL TEMPLES AND A BASILICA. THUS THE EXCAVATORS KNEW IN ADVANCE (1) THAT THE

CITY PLAN AND BUILDING TYPES ARE IN THE ROMAN RATHER THAN THE ETRUSCAN TRADITION; THE VISIBLE REMAINS ARE ACCORDINGLY THOSE OF THE ROMAN COLONY OF 273 B.C., NOT OF A PRE-ROMAN, ETRUSCAN, CUSI, AND (2) THAT NONE OF THE BUILDINGS ARE OF LATER CONSTRUCTION THAN THE FIRST CENTURY B.C., SO THAT THE CITY MUST HAVE BEEN DESERTED ABOUT THE BEGINNING OF OUR ERA, AND SUFFERED ONLY MINOR SPOLIATION IN THE MEDIAEVAL AND RENAISSANCE PERIODS. THE CHECKERBOARD, ORIENTED TO THE NORTH AND LEVELED, SERVES AS A FRAME ON WHICH FUTURE EXCAVATIONS WILL BE SURVEYED; THE DIVISIONS ARE 50 METERS SQUARE.



AN EXPEDITION FROM THE AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF FRANK E. BROWN, PROFESSOR IN CHARGE OF THE ACADEMY'S SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES, BEGAN A SEVEN-WEEK INITIAL EXPLORATION OF COSA ON MAY 1, 1948, AND RESUMED IN MAY 1949. CLASSICAL JOURNAL HERE PRESENTS A SERIES OF PICTURES OF THE SITE, REPRODUCED, BY PERMISSION OF PROFESSOR BROWN AND THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA, FROM *Archaeology*, VOLUME 2, NO. 1 (MARCH 1949), PAGES 2-10.



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## ABOVE

IF YOU STAND ON THE CREST OF ANSEDONIA AND FACE EASTWARD, YOU FIND YOURSELF LOOKING OUT OVER THE RICH PLAIN OF THE TUSCAN MAREMMA, THE SILTED-UP ANCIENT HARBOR AND LAGOON OF COSA, A MODERN DRAINAGE CANAL, AND THE SANDY SHORE.

## RIGHT→

THIS CHANNEL FROM THE LAGOON TO THE SEA, HEWN BY ANCIENT ENGINEERS IN THE SOLID ROCK OF THE HILLSIDE, WAS MADE TO DRAIN THE LAGOON OF COSA.



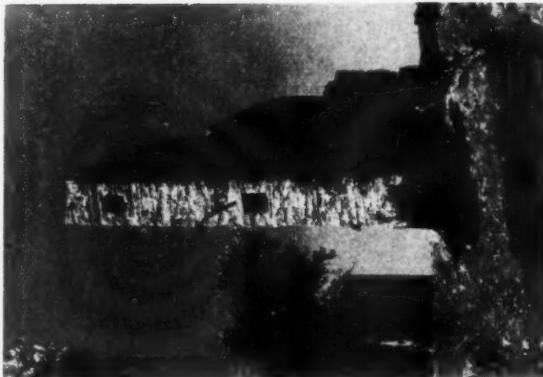
## ←TOP

## ←BOTTOM

THE CHIEF BUILDING ON THE NORTHEAST SIDE OF COSA'S FORUM WAS A BASILICA, BUILT, LIKE OTHER BUILDINGS AT COSA, OF ROUGHLY WORKED LIMESTONE BLOCKS SET IN LIME MORTAR, A PRIMITIVE STEP IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROMAN CONCRETE WHICH WAS TO REVOLUTIONIZE BUILDING METHODS. AT THE BACK OF THE BASILICA STOOD THE TRIBUNAL, STILL STANDING TO A HEIGHT OF NINETEEN FEET. THE BASILICA IS THE OLDEST EXAMPLE OF THIS TYPE OF BUILDING YET FOUND IN ITALY.

THIS PICTURE, LOOKING BACK DOWN FROM THE ENTRANCE OF THE ARX, SHOWS, IN THE FOREGROUND, THE PAVING OF THE SACRED WAY, VISIBLE ON THE MODERN GROUND SURFACE WITHOUT EXCAVATION; AND, IN THE BACKGROUND, THE ALMOST LEVEL PLATEAU, NOW DOTTED WITH OLIVE TREES, WHERE STAND THE REMAINS OF THE FORUM AND ITS BUILDINGS. (SEE ALSO MAP, PAGE 141; THE FORUM, FLANKED BUT NOT CROSSED BY STREETS, OCCUPIES THE ENTIRE EAST CORNER OF THE SITE.)

## COSA: REPUBLICAN COLONY



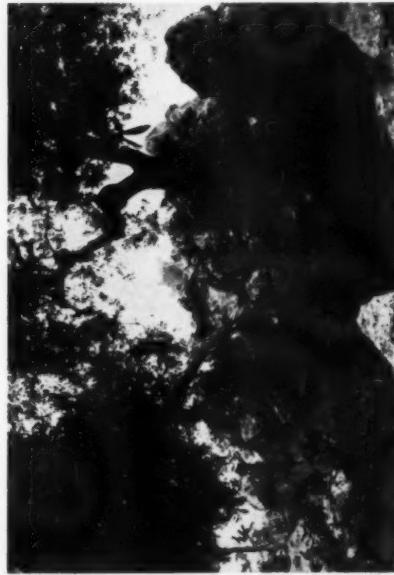
THE ANTA OF THE SOUTH WALL OF Cosa's Capitolium is still standing to a height of twenty-six feet, almost its full original height. The square recesses are sockets in which rested the ends of great square beams which held the grilling of the porch.



THE CITY WALL OF COSA, BUILT SOON AFTER THE COLONY WAS FOUNDED IN 273 B.C., WAS SIX TO SEVEN FEET THICK AND MORE THAN TWENTY FEET HIGH. IN SOME PLACES IT IS STILL TWENTY FEET HIGH. THE MATERIAL IS LIMESTONE, QUARRIED ON THE SPOT, CUT IN IRREGULAR SHAPES ("POLYGONAL" MASONRY). ITS OUTER FACE IS NEATLY FINISHED.

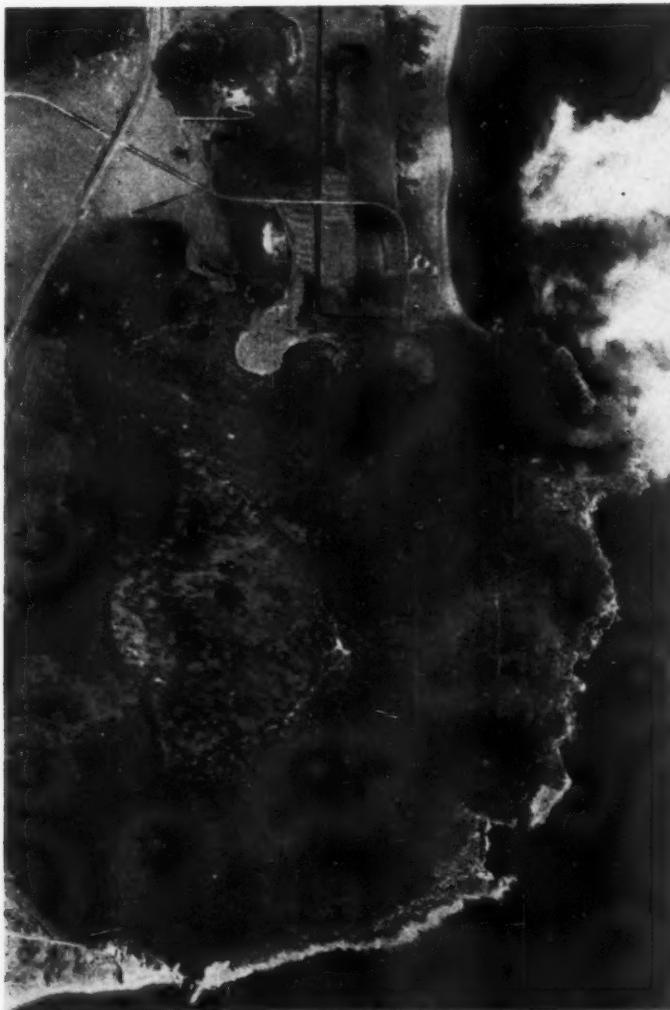


→THE ITALIC TRADITION OF FORTIFICATION WALLS IN POLYGONAL MASONRY WITHOUT TOWERS ENCOUNTERED TROUBLE WHEN TOWERS WERE INTRODUCED. TOWERS ARE EASIER TO BUILD, AND MORE SOLID WHEN BUILT, IN RECTANGULAR BLOCKS IN LEVEL COURSES ("ASHLAR" MASONRY). Cosa's TOWERS, DATING FROM THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM POLYGONAL TO ASHLAR, DISPLAY THE AWKWARD EFFORT TO COMBINE THE TWO, AS IN THIS PICTURE WHERE ALMOST-SQUARE CORNER BLOCKS ARE KEYED INTO THE IRREGULARLY SHAPED BLOCKS OF THE WALL.



←NO EFFORT WAS EXPENDED ON GIVING A FINE SMOOTH FINISH TO THE INNER FACE OF Cosa's WALLS.

Cosa  
from the  
air



ON THE TUSCAN COAST, EIGHTY-FIVE MILES NORTH OF ROME AND JUST BELOW THE LAGOON OF ORBETELLO, RISES THE HILL OF ANSEDONIA. HERE, TO GUARD THE COAST AND THE SEAWARD APPROACHES TO VULCI, THE ETRUSCANS BUILT THE FORT OF CUSI; AND HERE, AFTER THE SUPPRESSION OF VULCI, THE ROMANS IN TURN BUILT THE LATIN FORTRESS COLONY OF COSA. IN MAY, 1944, U. S. AIR FORCE RECONNAISSANCE PHOTOGRAPHERS FIVE

MILES DIRECTLY ABOVE ANSEDONIA SNAPPED THIS BEAUTIFUL, VERTICAL, THE SHIELD-SHAPED OUTLINE JUST LEFT OF CENTER IS THE FORTIFICATION WALL WHICH MARKS THE LIMITS OF THE ROMAN TOWN, STILL WELL PRESERVED. AT THE SOUTHERN POINT OF THE SHIELD LIES THE ARX, A WHITE SMUDGE WITHIN IT MARKING THE BARRACKS OF AN ITALIAN ANTIAIRCRAFT UNIT. TO THE SOUTH AND WEST, THE SEA-HURRY BREAKS ON THE SHORE.

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BELOW

AT THE ENTRANCE TO Cosa's FORUM (ON THE LINE BETWEEN SQUARE D VII AND D VIII IN THE PLAN, PAGE 141) SOMEONE BUILT A MONUMENTAL TRIPLE ARCH; THE MASONRY INDICATES THE PERIOD OF CAESAR OR AUGUSTUS. THE ARCH HAS COLLAPSED, BUT ITS PARTS CAN BE RECOGNIZED; IN THIS PICTURE CAN BE SEEN ONE SIDE ARCH, IN THE CRUMBLED MASONRY AT THE LEFT.

THE GATES OF COSA WERE SET BACK IN THE WALL LINE, WITHOUT FLANKING TOWERS (SEE THE PLAN, PAGE 141). THE ENTRANCE TO THE PASSAGeway WAS GUARDED BY A PORTCULLIS WHICH COULD BE DROPPED INTO PLACE AT AN INSTANT'S NOTICE; THE GROOVES IN WHICH IT RAN ARE WELL PRESERVED. THE INNER END OF THE GATE PASSAGE WAS CLOSED BY HEAVY DOORS.





ABOVE

THE PARTITION WALLS DIVIDING THE CELLAS HAVE SUFFERED BADLY, BUT THE OUTER WALLS ARE RELATIVELY WELL PRESERVED; THE WALL OF THE CELLA OF JUNO (BACKGROUND) STILL RETAINS PART OF ITS ORIGINAL DECORATION IN MOULDED PLASTER, OF THE FIRST POMPEIAN STYLE, WITH TRACES OF COLOR.

## BOTTOM→

IN THE NATIVE ROCK OF THE HILLTOP, UNDER THE PORCH OF THE CAPITOLIUM, WAS CUT A LARGE CISTERN TO CONTAIN THE RAIN WATER COLLECTED FROM THE EAVES. ITS WALLS AND VAULT WERE BUILT OF BROKEN FRAGMENTS OF TERRACOTTA ARCHITECTURAL DECORATIONS FROM AN EARLIER TEMPLE, POSSIBLY FROM THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.; IF SO, THIS TEMPLE IS OLDER THAN THE ROMAN COLONY, AND MAY BE A RELIC OF ETRUSCAN CUSI.





ABOVE: BEFORE THE EXCAVATIONS STARTED, THE GREAT SECTIONS OF CONCRETE WALL STANDING ON COSA'S ARX (H V ON PAGE 141) WERE THOUGHT TO BE MEDIAEVAL IN DATE. THEY ARE NOW PROVED TO BE THE WALLS OF A LARGE TRIPLE-CELLA TEMPLE, PRESUMABLY THE CAPITOLIUM, DATING AT LEAST AS EARLY AS THE EARLY SECOND CENTURY B.C. THE EXTENSIVE USE OF CONCRETE IN THIS PERIOD IS ONE OF THE EXTRAORDINARY SURPRISES PROVIDED

BY THE COSA EXCAVATIONS. THE MODERN BUILDING AT THE LEFT IS THE BARRACKS OF AN ANTI-AIRCRAFT DETAIL.

BELOW: THE TEMPLES OF COSA STOOD ON HIGH PODIA OF POLYGONAL MASONRY SIMILAR TO THE WALLS. THIS TEMPLE STANDS INSIDE THE NORTHWEST GATE, AND CAN BE RECOGNIZED ON THE PLAN, PAGE 141, AS THE LARGE RECTANGULAR STRUCTURE IN SQUARE B IV.



# BOOK REVIEWS

## CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS

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CREAGHAN, JOHN S., S. J., and A. E. RAUBITSCHEK, *Early Christian Epitaphs from Athens*. Woodstock, Maryland, Theological Studies (1947). Pp. iv+54, 10 plates. \$2.50.

THE COLLECTION OF the Greek inscriptions of the Early Christian Era, to be known as the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Christianarum*, announced by Theophile Homolle in 1898, has made but little progress. The known inscriptions discovered in the district of Athens never found their way into the Corpus and many of them were published in various scientific and semi-scientific magazines and papers which the average scholar will find hard to obtain. Perhaps these inscriptions are of little textual interest; perhaps they do not reveal any considerable part of the life of Athens during Early Christian times, yet they are almost the only documents which have survived from that early era. Their full publication therefore in the present volume and by scholars eminently qualified to do the work will be received with enthusiasm by the students of Christian Athens.

The study divides itself naturally into two sections. In the first section twenty-two inscriptions that have appeared before are published again with some corrections; in the second part are included thirty-three Early Christian inscriptions discovered in the Agora of Athens. The majority bear but the name of the deceased; some include threats against those who would violate the grave; some give the occupation of the deceased; none contain thoughts or sentiments of an uplifting nature such as we might expect from the early enthusiastic followers of Christ. The only possible word with spiritual meaning is *κοιμητήριον*, variously spelled, used to indicate the burial place, and expressing the belief

that the person buried actually did not die but was asleep (cf. Chrysostom, *Patrologia Graeca*, J. B. Migne, xlil, cols. 393-394).

The inscriptions included in the volume are expertly described and annotated, and are splendidly illustrated in ten plates. Indeed, there is little left for the reader to wish and the reviewer can make but a few remarks, which are advanced in the nature of a query. For example the title *σιρικάριος* given to the slave Dionysos (Inscription VI, Plate I) is taken to mean "silk-worker" or "silk-merchant," and it is pointed out that a guild of *σιρικάριοι* existed in Constantinople and that "Athens apparently participated in the imperial trade or manufacture of silk." In view of the *i* in the first syllable instead of *η*, one wonders whether the title could have been derived from the word *σιρός*, a pit for storing grain, and could therefore mean the "store keeper" of the proconsul, a service more appropriate for a slave. This interpretation seems to be strengthened by the fact that the silkworm and consequently the manufacture of silk were introduced into Greece during the reign of Justinian, in the sixth century; the inscription is placed by our authors in the fifth century.

Again we would prefer Broneer's interpretation of *τέχνης κεντητῆς* (*Hesperia* vii, 1938, 263) as referring to the art of embroidery and not to that of mosaic work. Athens does not seem to possess monuments that would attest to the use of mosaics in Early Christian times; for example the decor of the Parthenon added by the Christians was entirely in color. In Inscription 9 (Plate VI), in the second line, we would like to read instead of the suggested [']*Ιω]άνη* a name such as [']*Εηιφ]άνη* (cf. *I.G. III*, 3459) or even [']*θεοφ]άνη*. In that case the single *v* would become normal. There will be room on the stone for such a reading if the begin-

ning of the second line was made to agree with that of the third line.

The dates of the inscriptions published are uncertain; our authors place them with good reason in the fifth century of our era. A number of the inscriptions (a total of 33) were found in the excavations of the Agora, and the sections in which they were discovered are faithfully mentioned. One wonders, however, whether the context in which

these inscriptions were found contained no other objects which could offer additional indications for more exact dating.

These are but minor observations which the reviewer can make. The work is thorough and exemplary and, we hope, it will mark the beginning of the publication of the Christian Inscriptions of Greece.

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## LATIN PAPYRI

SANDERS, HENRY A. (ed.), with contributions by James E. Dunlap, *Michigan Papyri, Vol. VII: Latin Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. XLVIII); Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press (1947). Pp. xiv+126, 18 plates. \$5.00.

SO MANY THOUSANDS of documents written in Greek have been published that it is a rare treat to meet a volume devoted wholly to Latin papyri—even though the pieces are horribly mutilated and the Latin hardly has a Ciceronian ring.

The documents all come from Egypt, of course, but what they tell could be true of people living anywhere in the Roman Empire. In 110 A.D., for example, a certain Julianus proudly registered the fact that his son had just donned the toga virilis (No. 433). On some gala morning early in the second century A.D., Nomissianus gave his daughter in marriage to M. Petronius Servilius (No. 434). Servilius was a lucky chap: his bride brought him a very handsome dowry which included a farm, a house, furniture ("mirror, chest, easy chair, and 51 small boxes"), jewelry (14 precious stones, necklaces, one "very long earring"), a complete trousseau, and a slave. In 153 A.D., Private Arrius, on the recommendation of his sergeant (centurio) Victor, was cited for some meritorious conduct (No. 447). His reward was immunity from taxes, unquestionably far more welcome

to Arrius than one of our medals or ribbons. In No. 442, a certain Demetria decides to divorce her husband Valerius Gemellus, despite the fact that she is tied down with two children (Justus, 14, and Gemellus, Jr., 10). It is not hard to see why: Gemellus was a sailor (on the destroyer [liburna] "Dragon") and Demetria probably did not get to see very much of him; a hitch in the navy in those days was, after all, twenty-five years. On the literary side, a page from a quaint third-century grammar (No. 429) tells us that the diphthong *ae* really should be written *ai*.

Only two or three of the papyri are complete. The others range from pieces partially mutilated to mere scraps. On them all Sanders has lavished care and scholarship, and squeezed from them every drop of information they had to yield. The pieces are so fragmentary, however, that in a number of cases I felt the results were not quite worth the effort: the time, scholarship, and costs of publication could perhaps have been more profitably spent on documents that had more to offer.

All but two of the papyri are accompanied by plates. Since at least eight bear dates, the book becomes an extremely useful tool for the study of Latin cursive writing. In the introduction to No. 459 the editor says: "This unintelligible fragment is published merely as an example of large rustic capitals." By an oversight no plate of this piece was included.

Here are a few miscellaneous points. Sanders is hesitant about the nature of No. 442. I think the excellent analysis given by A. Berger in *Journal of Juristic Papyri* I (1945) 13-28 proves beyond doubt that it is either part of a divorce or of a receipt acknowledging return of the dowry after a divorce had taken place. Sanders considers No. 439 part of a will. The document, however, has no trace of any of the stereotyped clauses that generally appear in Roman wills (cf., e.g., *BGU* 1696). We can introduce one testamentary expression by restoring in line

one *quam d[ο]lego* instead of (*uxori*) *quam d[i]lego* which Sanders now has, but this would be the sole example. Sanders does not follow the practice usual among editors of papyri of indicating with widely spaced dots or some other device the fact that a document is broken at top or bottom. This sometimes leads to confusion.

These are small matters. They detract very little from the editor's solid achievement.

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## ROMAN HISTORIANS

LAISTNER, M. L. W., *The Greater Roman Historians: "Sather Classical Lectures,"* Vol. 21: Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press (1947). Pp. ix + 196. \$3.00.

THE EIGHT CHAPTERS in this volume are concerned with the more important aspects of Roman historical writing. Two introductory chapters on "The Hellenistic Background" and "Historical Writing in Rome to the Death of Caesar" are followed by a chapter on Sallust, two each on Livy and Tacitus, and a final chapter on Ammianus Marcellinus. There is a variety among the chapters: the rather leisurely approach to Livy is pleasing but a marked contrast to packed pages of the first chapter which make difficult but rewarding reading. Although this is not a connected history of the Roman historians three passages connect Sallust with Livy (pp. 65 f.), Livy with Tacitus (pp. 103-110), and Tacitus with Ammianus Marcellinus (pp. 141 f.). These transitional passages are useful for the general reader. The Procrustean bed of eight lectures of approximately equal length prevented the volume from attaining real unity, and the parts are greater than the whole. However there is much in the volume to stimulate thought and, at times, disagreement. Of particular value is the insistence throughout on interpretation of the authors in the light of their historical setting, and of their literary interests and practices.

In "The Hellenistic Background" Professor Laistner attempts "to indicate the general trend of historical writing in the Hellenistic world and to show that many of its characteristics were rooted in classical antiquity" (p. 22). In this attempt he is particularly successful in amalgamating trends of historical approach with examples taken from the writers of the period. His warning that our low opinion of many of the Hellenistic historians is based to a large extent upon Polybius' strictures is salutary since Polybius may well have been hyper-critical. However this train of thought led Laistner in one passage to a conclusion which the reviewer considers doubtful. On p. 4 it is stated that Theopompus' "historical judgement was far sounder" in centering his history of Greek and Macedonian affairs on Philip than that of Polybius who "displayed a strangely parochial point of view" in recommending the inclusion of the acts of Philip in the general history of Greece. I am in sympathy with Theopompus' solution of the problem of "the great man" in history, and am as wary as Professor Laistner of "economic determinism" (cf. p. 16), but many solutions are possible in history—none wholly excludes the rest, and the importance of the individual in historical development can never be settled.

Telling points are the emphasis upon the Hellenic sources of the characteristics of Hellenistic writers, on the relations of his-

toriography to philosophy (especially Stoicism) and tragedy, and on Hellenistic history as artistic prose. I regretted that Laistner's casual mention of Suetonius later (p. 140) did not lead him to apply to the *de vita Caesarum* a notable *sententia* on p. 15: "Yet, if a man's private vices react in any way on his public career, their suppression by the historian may lead to a distortion of the truth." On p. 13 a passage from Aristotle was quoted which concerns the distinction between history and poetry: "'Just as two events may take place at the same time, e.g., the sea-fight off Salamis and the battle with the Carthaginians in Sicily, without converging to the same end, so also of two consecutive events one may sometimes come after the other with no one end as their common issue.'" (Butcher, see note 12 for text.) Although this passage was cited quite appropriately without further comment, I would like to add that there is a peculiar fact under the surface here. Of all the examples Aristotle might have chosen this seems one of the least appropriate. The interconnections between Salamis and Himera, though less obvious in the fourth century than later, should have been noted by Aristotle. Incidentally dates for these Hellenistic authors would have made the reading easier. The last sentence binds this introduction to the following lectures: "And, though the historical works of Sallust and his successors retained certain characteristically national traits, the Hellenic leaven had been at work in the Roman meal long before" (p. 22).

The presentation, in the second chapter, of the annalists before the age of Cicero is conservative and sensible, as, for example, in the statement that Fabius Pictor's "real reason for choosing Greek was in all likelihood the desire to reach a particular audience" (p. 26). The opinion expressed of Cicero as an authentic critic of historical writing (pp. 29-32, cf. pp. 7, 17) is refreshing as is also his exegesis on Cicero's famous letter to Lucceius (*Fam.* 5.12: pp. 32-35). Laistner's opinion of Caesar is high, perhaps too high, both on stylistic and historical bases. "In truth, if a mature reader finds Caesar's books dull in

content and monotonous in expression, the fault does not lie with Caesar. Simplicity and clarity in writing can be most deceptive, and there are few authors to whom the hackneyed saying, *ars est celare artem*, can more fittingly be applied" (p. 41). In speaking of the contradiction between Caesar's figure of the Pompeian losses at Pharsalus (ca. 15,000: B.C. 3.99) and Pollio's figure (6000: Appian, B.C. 2.11.82) he acutely remarked, "But is there any proof that Asinius Pollio was an accurate observer?" (p. 38: Suetonius, *Iul.* 56.4 might have been added to note 31 at this point). On page 36: "If only Caesar's two famous books have survived, we may suspect that it was not chance alone but the deliberate choice of posterity which was responsible." However there is little evidence for ancient times that Caesar's *commentarii* had a wide vogue (cf. N. J. DeWitt, *TAPA* 73 [1942], 347f.), and I would suggest that his orations, the two books *de analogia*, and his *anticatones* may have been more popular.

### Sallust, *Livy*

THE THIRD lecture, on Sallust, begins with an account of Sallust's earlier popularity and a brief summary of the critical attitude toward Sallust in the last century. Professor Laistner takes an extreme attitude and follows the conclusion of Eduard Schwartz that Sallust was "a writer who to the end remained a bitter political partisan, composing all his works in the interests of a political faction . . ." (p. 47). Later in a discussion of the contrast of Cato and Caesar in the *Catilina* he says "Sallust achieved a brilliant piece of writing, but at the cost of his credit as a historical authority" (p. 57). Even though we recognize that Sallust's chronology and geography often are weak, and that his background kept him from being impartial, as in the case of his treatment of Pompey (cf. pp. 55 f.), nevertheless this view of Sallust seems unduly harsh.

One especially interesting passage is the suggestion that Sallust's philosophical reflections on history were lacking in originality (pp. 52-55). This is true enough. However can we deny the quality of reflection to his-

torians and essayists merely because their conclusions may fit into traditional commonplaces? If we do this, most, if not all, modern philosophy and history lack genuine originality, and a traditionalist *ipso facto* cannot be an original thinker. Significant consideration of earlier ideas and a new statement of them is in my opinion, and surely in that of many classical writers, originality. It is this hypercritical doctrine which has so often been unjustly applied, with intent to depreciate, to the essays of Cicero. The consideration of the literary qualities of Sallust is ably presented. On pp. 60–61 two passages from the *fragmenta* of the *Historiae* are translated to illustrate Sallust's mature style (2. fr. 70 and 87; the latter incorrectly cited as 3. fr. 87 in note 33 on p. 171 and on p. 190). These passages are interesting and revealing and remind us with regret that the editors of the Loeb Library decided not to include the translation of the fragments of the *Histories* which Professor Rolfe had prepared (see preface in his edition, p. v).

The fourth and fifth lectures are eminently readable and make an excellent introduction to the literary and historical qualities of Livy. Professor Laistner's praise of Livy is a welcome contrast to the disparagement which was so common among the over-sceptical historians of the nineteenth century. To the reviewer it has never seemed credible that Livy wrote in haste without due consideration of many sources. Inconsistencies, anachronisms, and signs of "Tendenzschrift" are certainly to be found here, but wholesale error and carelessness cannot be assumed. "It is also legitimate to doubt whether the interpretations of Roman history put forward by Cicero and Livy, after every allowance has been made for their literary eminence, would have been generally accepted, if they had had little or no basis in fact" (p. 93). Laistner's cogent argument for Livy's Stoic views is revealing (pp. 67–77), especially as an explanation of Livy's harsh criticism of Cicero (preserved by Seneca, *Suas.* 6. 17, 22, and effectively translated pp. 73 f.).

His suggestion that Livy's rapidity of composition has been overstressed by the

critics who use this idea to further their arguments on his careless use of sources is well taken (pp. 77 f.). As a matter of fact Livy wrote slowly even by ancient standards—witness the tremendous productivity of M. Terentius Varro. To the modern examples of voluminous production cited by Laistner even more impressive examples can be added:—Mommsen, Nicholas Jorga *inter alios*. Two supplementary points concerning Valerius Antias illustrate the point of view in these chapters. On the one side Valerius was certainly not wholly without value (p. 66), on the other side Livy surely used him with caution and as only one of many sources (pp. 28, 66, 83f.). Pp. 79–82 cite interesting items which may be deduced from the *periochae*. On p. 88 the famous passage in which Aemilius Paullus challenged the "armchair strategists" is translated (44.22.6–15). It is interesting to add that this is the passage used so effectively by the late President Roosevelt under somewhat similar provocation.

### Tacitus

THE SIXTH and seventh lectures are devoted to Tacitus, after a brief summary on the fore-runners of Tacitus. After a reminder that much of the historical writing has disappeared, the author suggests that the dearth of literature in the period following the death of Augustus may have occurred partly because "in Rome . . . literature and philosophy were predominantly in the hands of the ruling class" (p. 103) and partly because "the Roman, though by no means merely imitative, nevertheless compared to the Greek was somewhat lacking in imagination and in intellectual curiosity" (p. 104). Neither observation is new, but their restatement is valuable. The brief estimate of Velleius is welcome since it points out values in that author which are often ignored (pp. 108–10).

In reaching his conclusions concerning Tacitus Professor Laistner entered a field which has been thoroughly ploughed for generations. His conclusions, to which I take many exceptions and which I consider too extreme, may be summarized in part by quota-

tion. Part of the first sentence on the author: "Cornelius Tacitus, whom it is customary to regard as Rome's greatest historian . . ." (p. 110). "This raises the suspicion that he may be unfair to Paetus in order to enhance the glory of Corbulo" (p. 131). "The mind of Tacitus is completely enthralled by the personal characters and private lives of these emperors; . . ." (p. 132). After quoting the summing-up after Tiberius' death: "*Sine ira et studio?* Rather, a brilliant but remorseless satirist" (p. 134). "Thus our final conclusion must be that Tacitus' unique qualities as a writer should not blind us to his grave shortcomings, even by ancient standards, as a historical authority. . . . His chief weakness is just this: that the satirist runs away time and again with the historian . . . the common judgement on the two men (i.e. Livy and Tacitus) should be reversed. For breadth of view, for his general conception of what historical writing should be, and the manner in which he gave practical expression to it, perhaps also for a more deeply rooted *humanitas*, the first place among Roman historians belongs to Livy" (p. 139).

It is no easy matter to express an opinion of Tacitus briefly. In the present account many of the views which harshly criticize the interpretations within the narrative of Tacitus are pithily expressed. It has lately seemed to me that the root of the matter lies first with our inability to separate our opinion of the character of some of the emperors from our admiration for the enduring power and order of the imperial administration, and second with our too complete identification of the acts of a regime with the emperors ruling at the time. The stability of the administration under Tiberius has led many to an interpretation of the personality of Tiberius at odds with that of Tacitus, and as a consequence to severe criticism of Tacitus. This illustrates the first point, the second may be illustrated by the picture of Claudius as a wise administrator. Each apologist builds a further case against the sources, and the archeological and papyrological finds, because of their novelty and their unquestioned significance, are given an undue importance. Favorable re-interpreta-

tion of Tiberius, which is to some extent justified, has been followed by laudatory accounts of Claudius and even by attempts at partial re-habilitation of Nero and Caligula. Tacitus' interpretation of the period is more significant in my opinion than much of the recent discussion will allow. Furneaux and earlier historians may have over-rated him, but many recent historians have swung to the other extreme. It was pleasing to see that Professor Laistner rejects the more fanciful theories about the purpose of the *Germania* and recognizes it as a preliminary monograph in which the incipient historian tried his hand (pp. 111 f.).

### Ammianus Marcellinus

THE LAST LECTURE, ON Ammianus, is a welcome addition to recent work such as Rolfe's translation (1935-39), and E. A. Thompson's monograph (1947). Interest in this historian has not been equal to his merit. This is due partly to the tendency of classicists to limit their studies by the second century and partly to the adverse judgements passed upon Ammianus' style. This chapter, written by a scholar whose volume on western European intellectual life from the sixth to the ninth centuries has given so many of us a real interest in a fascinating period, should induce many classicists to turn to the fourth century. In the discussion of the historian's choice of Latin for the narrative and his competence in that language Professor Laistner has argued cogently for an upward revision of the opinion of Ammianus' style (pp. 145-148). The analogy between Ammianus' choice of Latin with Gibbon's choice of English after his initial use of French is enlightening (pp. 143 f.); as are the discussion of the speeches (pp. 149-151), and the references to Ammianus' knowledge and use of earlier literature (esp. pp. 149, 151, and note 23 on pp. 181 f.).

The documentation given in the notes (pp. 165-183) is necessarily brief, but it is discriminating and helpful. There is no general index, but there is a useful index of citations of ancient passages. A few minor lapses of proof-reading occur: "Titiosus" for Titurius

(p. 40); "J. D. Duff" for J. W. Duff (note 4, p. 174). More startling is the citation on page 17 of "Tacitus' narrative of the fall of Sejanus" as an example of a vivid passage.

One of the greatest values of a book such as this is that it opens the way for numerous reflections on the nature of history and historians. On page 12 the author cites with approval one of Polybius' requirements for the historian: ". . . He must have practical experience of warfare and of political life." It is noteworthy that in this volume harsh strictures are placed upon Sallust and Tacitus who were senators with high office behind them, whereas Livy, who had no such experience, is highly praised.

On Page 19 the author cites Polybius' inconsistencies in attributing some events to Tyche, others to purely mundane causes as "one of the several proofs that he did not live long enough to revise his book thoroughly. . . ." Later in speaking of Tacitus' religious and political views he notes certain inconsistencies (pp. 115 ff., and cf. p. 152). We may pause to wonder whether Polybius' incon-

sistency and Tacitus' may not proceed from the same source and whether that of the former can really be a proof of incomplete revision. Certitude in these matters is more medieval than classical. Incidentally I incline toward the point of view that Tacitus early was sceptical of astrology, but later came to believe in it (cf. Brakmann, *Mn.* 56 [1928], 70-78). Again this very point brings up a neglected idea—would the modern "scientific" historian escape unscathed from the scrutiny in minute detail which has been applied to the historians of the ancient world? Would he be found consistent in his application of the principles of historical causation and interpretation? Even when allowance has been made for genuine changes in opinion, many varying basic interpretations are due to human fallibility and the irresistible impulse to prove two mutually exclusive historical truths by the same set of data.

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## MEDITATIONS OF AN EPICUREAN

RADIN, MAX, *Epicurus my Master*: Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press (1949). Pp. ix + 142. \$2.75.

HERE WE HAVE an extremely readable and rereadable book of meditations. The meditating is done by Max Radin but the words are placed in the mouth of Atticus, who is slowly bringing life to an end through abstention from food. The author is a venerable jurisconsult and a competent classicist but he parades no erudition and distracts with no footnotes; his writing exhibits humanitas without *Wissenschaft*. The prospective reader is the intelligent layman and the manner of presentation curiously disarming. This is as it should be, because Atticus himself was a master of the art of living obscurely with distinction and of knowing the great and powerful without challenging competition.

The year is 32 B.C., the eve of Actium, on the dividing line between the old and new,

so that the oncoming Augustans no less than the living and the deceased republicans alike come under the survey. The aged Atticus, *integra cum mente*, as Horace prayed to be, and superior to pain, as Epicurus was in his last days, looks back over his long life and with unruffled detachment delivers judgments of men and events, life and death.

To prospective readers I should say that no book I have read presents Epicurean ethics more understandingly. Comment would more often take the form of expansion than stricture. For example, it is correct to say (30) that "the only purpose in the world is that which men bring into it," but it may be added that to Epicurus the workings of Nature, though not purposive, may still be good; civilization, though not planned, is still in part her handiwork; she is the creatrix and, though blind, has the guidance of the finita potestas. Again, while one of the better passages of

the book is on friendship (102-110), it may be added that the good Epicurean not only made a business of friendship but also insisted upon the right of being at one and the same time the friend of avowed enemies, such as Octavian and Antony. This is the combination of *comitas* with *severitas*, which Nepos extolled and Marcus Aurelius and St. Ambrose admired.

On one point I would suggest an amendment. Consistently with the Epicurean preference for a minimum of government, Atticus is made to say (90), "We need no more organization than that of a wolf-pack." I think it more probable that the original model was the elephant herd. Epicurus was a younger contemporary of Alexander the Great, whose explorations filled Greece with the lore of India. The books of Megasthenes on India's fauna and flora appeared four years before Epicurus came to Athens in 306 B.C. It must have been revealed that the elephant herd recognized its leaders and was organized to maintain its own "safety," an Epicurean catchword. Epicurus certainly found his concept of justice in animal behavior. With him it was not dialectic, which he declared superfluous, but Nature herself who revealed the true nature of justice.

Errors are few, but how often "Dionysius" has been printed for "Dionysus" (67)! Octavian's person had not been declared sacrosanct

(124) nor had Virgil written "superavimus urbi" (2) in the lifetime of Atticus. Elsewhere I plan to demonstrate that it was not in the Garden (129) but in Colophon several years earlier that Epicurus thought out his doctrine; it was as a mature and disciplined thinker, 35 years of age, after fruitful and painful experiences as a teacher in Colophon, Mytilene, and Lampsacus, that he took up his residence in Athens. Neither do I share the author's high estimate of Marcus Cato, whom I consider a self-dramatizing, atavistic political *prima donna*, who by virtue of an unparalleled genius for denunciation had his whole generation buffaloed except Julius Caesar. Atticus may have been of like mind, but he would not show it; he was Cato's banker.

An amusing addendum: Readers will miss something unless they obtain the volume with the jacket. On the front of this, by some mistake—not the author's—instead of the picture of Epicurus, appears one of the impish Aesop. This error has given occasion for some good-natured ribaldry. The true likeness of Max Radin is to be seen on the back of the jacket, where, as Epicurus urged, he "smiles while he philosophizes," radiating all the while the true Epicurean *ataraxy*.

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## TRAJAN IN PARTHIA

LEPPER, F. A., *Trajan's Parthian War*: Oxford, the University Press (1948). Pp. xv + 224.

READERS CONSULTING this volume of the series of "Oxford Classical and Philosophical Monographs" for a narrative of Trajan's campaigns against the Parthians will be disappointed, since the author demonstrates that it is impossible at the present time to give a satisfactory account of this war. They will find, however, a very interesting critical analysis of the sources and of the conflicting current views on the subject, combined with

a highly praiseworthy effort to present a new hypothesis as the basis for future investigations. The two recent writers whose works receive the most attention are R. P. Longden ("Notes on the Parthian Campaigns of Trajan," *JRS* 21 [1931], 1 ff.; "The Wars of Trajan," *Camb. Anc. Hist.* 11 [1936], 223 ff.) and J. Guey ("Essai sur la guerre parthique de Trajan, 114-117," *Bibliothèque d'Istros* 2, Bucharest, 1937), whose work is not available to most American scholars.

Lepper attacks the problem under three heads: chronology, strategy and topography,

and the causes of the war. In the matter of chronology, he reaches substantially the same results as Guey: 113, autumn, Trajan leaves Rome; early 114 arrives at Antioch; 115 conquers Armenia, receiving the title Optimus in early autumn; late 114 to Dec. 114, conquers and organizes northern Mesopotamia; 114-115 winters in Antioch; 116 spring invades Adiabene, takes Ctesiphon, reaches the Persian Gulf; midsummer 116-midsummer 117, revolt of Mesopotamia and Trajan's withdrawal to Antioch. As for strategy, the author feels that Trajan's main objective was the establishment of a satisfactory eastern frontier, which was secured by the occupation of Armenia (the logical conclusion to the Flavian policy in Asia Minor), and by the organization of the province of Mesopotamia west of the Chaboras-Singara line, which was the frontier re-established in upper Mesopotamia by Diocletian.

Such a view, of course, calls for a justification of the campaign of 116, and Lepper recognizes this difficulty. He explains Trajan's moves up to the capture of Ctesiphon as consistent and justifiable attempts to weaken enemies dangerous to the new frontier, maintaining that there is no good evidence for the creation of a province of Assyria or the annexation of lower Mesopotamia including Babylonia. Trajan's rapid success, in Lepper's opinion, gave him a false

sense of superiority inducing him to undertake a voyage of relaxation down the Tigris to the Persian Gulf and to neglect temporarily the settlement of his relations with the Parthians. This was a serious blunder, which permitted the reorganization of Parthian resistance, the outbreak of a revolt throughout Mesopotamia, and led to the ultimate loss of all his conquests.

As for Trajan's motivation in beginning the war, the author believes that it was political and military—the maintenance of Roman prestige and the development of a logical frontier to the north of Roman Syria, although it is not clear how far his plans were formulated in advance and how far they grew out of his initial successes. He rejects completely the economic explanation, advocated most strongly by Guey, namely a desire to secure trades routes with the East. Regarding Cassius Dio's explanation, love of glory, Lepper feels that it may have arisen as a result of Trajan's apparently aimless manoeuvres in the latter part of 116, a time when the emperor may have been suffering from the early stages of the illness (high blood pressure) which caused his death.

The book is well equipped with bibliography, footnotes, indexes, and a useful map of the Near East.

A. E. R. BOAK

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#### "WE SEE BY THE PAPERS"

(Continued from Page 140)

A COLUMN by Ralph Chapman in the New York HERALD TRIBUNE, reprinted in the St. Louis POST-DISPATCH September 12, runs on about the "B-XXXVI investigation," the "LXXXIst congress," odds of "\$II to \$I," "XVIIIth Avenue subway," "XXXIIloid Street," for XII or XIII paragraphs, before laconically quoting an authority to the effect that "the Romans were not reputed to be good mathematicians."

IT IS ALWAYS ENCOURAGING to see teachers of the Classics get their share of renown and the good things of life. Lt. Col. S. G. Brady of Asheville, N. C., sent us an advertisement headed "At Home With the Maitlands of Long Island" which pictures Professor A. G. C. Maitland of New York University's Department of Classics, Mrs. Maitland, and daughter Jennifer, sailing on Peconic Bay and sampling and measuring the extra large bottle of a familiar carbonated beverage. Professor Maitland's comment is: ". . . rates an A-plus on quality. It's at the head of its class for taste." (N.B. Name of product withheld, as this is not a paid ad. Ed.)

W. C. S.

## "TRENDS AND EVENTS"

(Continued from Page 114)

tion (as well as high school education) has been planned for youth with verbal skills and with intellectual interests. The community college, if it is to serve its purposes, must recognize that the community—yes, and the state, the nation, and the world—need trained citizens with all varieties of aptitudes and abilities . . . Our educational system, and particularly the community college, must build upon a recognition of both the needs of the community and the capacities of its youth.

4. The community college must use all varieties of instructional experiences and aids to learning. In a sense, this statement might apply to any college. In a special sense, however, it applies to the community college. Since the usual college ordinarily appeals to students with selected verbal aptitudes, such colleges can perhaps with some validity stress verbal (reading, lecture, etc.) approaches to learning. The community college, the students of which may have less verbal aptitude—and greater talents in other areas—will not dare to rely upon the usual verbal approach to learning. It must use such varied aids to learning as trips, motion pictures, recordings, radio, tape recorders, demonstrations, models, film strips, and slides."

If we should venture to editorialize on this extensive and searching report to the Higher Education Conference, we should suggest that all the gains noted by the Committee be subjected to one other test, namely, What losses are these youths sustaining by the immense amount of time consumed in these (admittedly excellent) work-study experiences of vocational, social, religious or civic nature? Also this: What knowledge of words (verbal aptitude) should be possessed by those listening to recordings, radio, tape recorders, motion pictures, etc.? That is, how much prior "book" learning may be needed for the young student to know what is being seen on "trips" and how much verbal explanations of the social needs of the community before explorations into the social and civic realms of the community?

It is easy to say, "The community college must employ a faculty, the interests, training

and experience of which extend beyond the usual academic areas,"<sup>4</sup> but let us not skimp too far the academic areas which have this long time proved fundamental to our society.

D.S.W.

<sup>1</sup> President's Commission on Higher Education, "Higher Education for American Democracy." Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Official Group Reports of the Third Annual National Conference on Higher Education, Chicago, Ill., Mar. 22-25, 1948.

<sup>3</sup> Current Trends in Higher Education—1948. Department of Higher Education, National Education Association of the United States. Washington, D. C. June, 1948, p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112.

## CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

(Continued from Page 112)

RELIGION IN LIFE 18 (1949).—(Winter: 79-88) David E. Roberts, "Christian Faith and Greek Tragedy." In answer to the claim that the tenets of the Christian faith are incompatible with a full appreciation and free dramatic expression of the tragedy of human existence the author maintains that "the tragic note can be sounded in plays that tend to undermine belief in a divine moral order, as well as in plays that grope toward the discernment of such an order. . . . A neat, conclusive 'explanation' of discord and evil is alien to the spirit of great tragic literature, that of Aeschylus and Sophocles no less than that of Euripides. It is also incompatible with profound Christian faith. Actually the biblical accounts of man which tell of his inner visions, his solidarity in guilt, and his estrangement from nature, his fellows, and God, are much nearer to Greek tragedy than to Pelagius, Leibniz, or Kant." (Spring: 251-262) Herbert E. Richards, "Contemporary Education and Sir Richard Livingstone."

REVUE HISTORIQUE 201 (1949).—(January-March: 1-29) Jean Filliozat, "Les Échanges de l'Inde et de l'Empire Romain aux Premiers Siècles de l'Ère Chrétienne."

"SCIENTIA" 84 (1949).—(January-February: 15-18) Francesco Gabrieli, "L'Eredità Classica nel Medioevo Musulmano." (19-27) Max Niedermann, "L'Interpénétration des Langues (Deuxième Partie)."

SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN 180 (1949).—(January: 22-27) Erich Fromm, "The Oedipus Myth." The author questions Sigmund Freud's assumption that the classic Oedipus myth symbolically

confirmed his theory of the Oedipus complex, "that unconscious incestuous drives and resulting hate against the father-rival are an intrinsic part of any male child's equipment." Through an examination of the whole Oedipus myth as presented in Sophocles' three plays one may more correctly conclude "that the myth has to be understood as a symbol, not of the incestuous tie between mother and son, but of the rebellion of the son against the authority of the father in the patriarchal family," a struggle whose roots "extend far back into the ancient struggle in both family and religion between the patriarchal and matriarchal systems of society." The Oedipus myth as Sophocles has revealed it in his dramas is *not* "centered on the crime of incest." (April: 44-47) George de Santillana, "Greek Astronomy." A brief historical sketch, from Anaximander to Ptolemy. (June: 40-43) William L. Westermann, "Ancient Slavery." The status of slaves in ancient Greece and Rome.

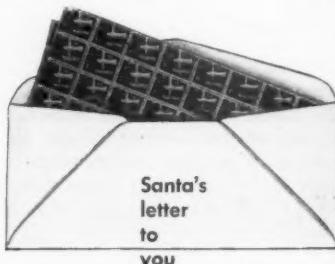
**STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY** 46 (1949).—(January: 1-5) Di Ignazio Cassaniga, "Il Supplizio del Miele e delle Formiche: Un Motivo Novellistico nelle Metamorfosi di Apuleio (viii, 22)." (April: 141-153) R. H. Bowers, "William Gager's *Oedipus*." Brief introductory discussion and printed text of Gager's short Latin play *Oedipus*, in five scenes, transcribed from British Museum Add. Ms. 22583. (337-340) Don C. Allen, "Recent Literature of the Renaissance: Neo-Latin." Bibliography of recent works.

**TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA** 42 (1948).—(Third Series, Section 2: 13-29) William H. Alexander, "References to Pompey in Seneca's Prose." Though in one noteworthy passage Seneca cites Pompey's *bonitas exima inter antiquos principes*, the significance as praise is dubious. On the whole he did not find in Pompey's career much fruit for moral edification and certainly does not rise to his nephew Lucan's heights of eloquence in justifying Pompey's tragic end. "Ingratitude, irrationality, unrighteousness—these are the grave faults revealed by the picture."

VIRGINIA QUARTERLY 25 (1949).—Winter:

99-115) Gilbert Highet, "The Reinterpretation of the Myths." An essay on the enduring vitality of Greek myths, as evidenced by the modern psychological and philosophical interest in them and by their reinterpretation in modern literature, mainly dramatic. Special discussion of French representations, in plays and stories, by Gide, Cocteau, Giraudoux, Anouilh, Giono, and Sartre.

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